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The

American Historical Review

EUROPEAN HISTORY AND AMERICAN SCHOLARSHIP[1]

EUROPEAN history is of profound importance to Americans. We may at times appear more mindful of Europe's material indebtedness to us than of our spiritual indebtedness to Europe; we may in our pharisaic moods express our thanks that we are not even as these sinners of another hemisphere; but such moments cannot set us loose from the world's history. Whether we look at Europe genetically as the source of our civilization, or pragmatically as a large part of the world in which we live, we cannot ignore the vital connections between Europe and America, their histories ultimately but one. The latest statue of Abraham Lincoln looks toward Westminster Abbey and toward the grave of the unknown British soldier who fell in a cause of liberty common to both sides of the Atlantic.

European history we shall always in some fashion have with us, but how? Shall it come to us entirely at second hand, either in the original packages of European authors, or derived therefrom as it is condensed, diluted, predigested, or reflavored to suit the local taste? Or shall we participate fully and directly in all phases of the historical activity of our time, collecting and sifting the sources for ourselves, making our own generalizations and interpretations, contributing freely of our thought as well as of our labor to the general advancement of historical knowledge and historical understanding? The question concerns the future of American scholarship, its dignity, its independence, its creative power.

It is, of course, both desirable and inevitable that a large part of the historical effort of every country should go to its national history. But while American history is our first business, it is not our sole business. Beyond the level of production necessary for the nourishment of local historical life, there must be a surplus product for

[1] Presidential address delivered before the American Historical Association at New Haven, Dec. 27, 1922.

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the general good, and never was the need of our intellectual surplus so great as now. If every country had interpreted its obligations in a narrowly national sense, there would have been no Gibbon or Grote, no Ranke, no Mommsen, no Renan, no Champollion, no general histories; and the United States would lack the fine examples of Prescott and Motley, of Henry Charles Lea, Charles Gross, and Alfred Thayer Mahan.

The material obstacles to American research in European fields are so obvious that they require no elaboration. We are far from Europe's libraries and archives; our own collections are inadequate, and the large repositories are few and often remote from the individual worker. Yet two generations of productive scholarship show that such difficulties are not insuperable, and what was hard for Prescott and Lea has become much easier with new photographic processes and the rapid development of great library centres. Of this the recent creation on the Pacific Coast of a great library of the World War offers a most convincing illustration. Nevertheless, historians of slender means require much in the way of travelling fellowships and research funds, co-operative effort, and wise and generous policy in the enlargement of libraries and facilities for publication.

Remoteness creates more serious disadvantages of an immaterial kind. American scholars are less well grounded in languages than are their European colleagues, both in the classical tongues which are essential for many periods of history, and in the vernaculars of today. The units of foreign language so laboriously accumulated in school and college lose little of their foreignness in the process; indeed the very word may be partly responsible for the prevalent timidity in attacking an unknown tongue. The least that will satisfy the bare requirement is too common an ideal even among advanced students. Unless we lose our fear of languages, much of our historical work must perforce be second-hand and superficial. Still harder of acquisition is the familiarity with persons and places, the sympathetic appreciation of European habits and points of view which comes with prolonged travel and residence abroad and without which history is bloodless and unreal if not untrue. Important as this is for certain kinds of historical work, especially in recent epochs, it is not indispensable for all. Henry C. Lea visited Europe only once and that but briefly; Gibbon, to take a foreign example, wrote his famous seventeenth chapter without ever seeing Constantinople. Yet these were no provincials. Lea knew many tongues, ancient, medieval, and modern; Gibbon had his classics and, though he refused to learn

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the German necessary for a history of Switzerland, he composed his first book in fluent French, which he wrote more easily than his mother tongue. The historian must at least travel in his imagination, and for most of us it is safer first to travel in the flesh. As a New Jersey private remarked at the close of the late war, "There's a hell of a lot of difference between Trenton, New Jersey, and Paris, France, and you don't know it till you get to Paris, France!"

American historiography shows three main phases, which chronologically overlap: the literary age of the second quarter of the nineteenth century; the middle period, devoted almost wholly to American history; and the last fifty years. The first phase, with its romantic interest in far-off times and places, widened the American horizon at the same time that it gave us the classical histories of Prescott and Motley, but it created no school and had little continuous influence. The second period, best typified by the romantic nationalism of Bancroft, touched Europe only indirectly, but brilliantly, in Parkman's volumes on New France. The third period is less easy to characterize. Its historians have generally had an academic training of the European sort, and are mostly connected with universities and other learned bodies; they have given much attention to documentary research and publication; their attitude is at least to this extent more scientific and less impressionistic; they resemble their European contemporaries in outlook and manner of work. This epoch we must now examine more closely if we are to form a definite impression of American tendencies in relation to European history. A complete enumeration or a critical assessment of individual authors is of course out of the question, but a rapid survey may show the subjects which have chiefly interested American scholars and some of the general characteristics of their work.

In the history of ancient times America was naturally no pioneer, yet two of the foremost living Egyptologists are our compatriots, and others are attacking the papyri in our libraries. Babylonia and Assyria have also their experts, even though their dynasties have not been exactly our "top and cricket ball", as they were to the youthful Gibbon. We have established ourselves in the field of Judaism and Oriental religion. As regards Greece and Rome, we have a definite place in the world's scholarship in relation to Hellenistic Athens, Greek and Roman imperialism, the Roman assemblies, and the economic life of Rome, while we have received among us from an oppressed country the world's leading authority on ancient economic history. Greek and Roman religion owe not a little to American scholars, while our schools at Athens and at Rome have done good

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work in archaeology. So far as it goes, the showing is good, but the workers in classical history are few in comparison with the amount of time and strength which has gone to the study of the classical languages and has produced too little that is fresh in the field of literary history and interpretation. Thucydides and Aristotle, the leading historical minds of antiquity, owe little or nothing to American interpreters. The vast field of the Roman Empire we are just beginning to explore. The "fall of Rome", long reserved for patriotic orations and other forms of hortatory discourse, has recently become the serious concern of at least three American historians.

Of the various countries of medieval and modern Europe, England has naturally received chief attention, for English history is in a sense early American history. The half-century which has followed the appearance of the *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law* has seen a steadily growing body of fundamental work on the part of American scholars, notably George Burton Adams and Cheyney, Gay and Gross, their pupils, and now their pupils' pupils. The list is long of the subjects in which American scholarship has made a place for itself: the Saxon household and the Norman *curia,* Domesday and the Great Charter, the king's council, Parliament both early and recent; the rise of political parties and the Cabinet, the political ideas and religious movements of the seventeenth century, and the old colonial system; the borough and the gilds, frankpledge, sheriff, coroner and county palatine, the jury and the justice of the peace; the Star Chamber and the High Commission; the manor, including villeinage, field systems, and enclosures; medieval and Tudor finance, customs and monopolies and the grain trade, the various trading companies, the stannaries, and the Templars; statutes of laborers and Tudor society, Chartism and related movements, as well as large portions of English legal and literary history. The standard general treatise on modern English government is by an American author, as is the best outline of English constitutional history. American writers have been tempted by the general political history of the Norman period, Tudor ideals, the reign of Elizabeth, by biographies of Canute and Thomas Cromwell, Walsingham, Arlington, Holland, and Nelson. The principal bibliography of English history is by an American, and Americans have had an important part in editing such records as the parliamentary debates of the seventeenth century, the volumes of the Selden Society, and the *Year Books.* Yet, with some recent exceptions, we have done relatively little for the period since 1783, almost nothing for Scotland, Ireland, and the non-American parts of the British Empire.

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For the countries of the Continent less was to be expected, and less has been produced. The French Revolution, for example, has never ceased to excite interest throughout the United States, and materials for its history are found in several of our libraries, but, though there are many brief sketches and a special volume on its religious policy, monographic research has been sporadic, with excellent individual publications but no organized centre outside Fling's seminary at the University of Nebraska. We have books on Napoleon, long and short, but as yet nothing definitive, nor have promising investigations of internal administration and commercial policy as yet come to fruition. Only quite recently have there been signs of awakening interest in nineteenth-century France, as seen in an elaborate biography of Lamartine and in volumes on Alsace-Lorraine and current political and social movements. Except for a brief general survey, work on the French Middle Ages has been scattering—Louis VII. and Philip Augustus, towns and universities and troubadours, the Normans and the Hundred Years' War, lives of Joan of Arc and Charles the Bold, and valuable original investigations of architecture. The volumes of James Breck Perkins and Edward Lowell and Farmer on the old régime have been followed up chiefly in the field of economic and colonial policy; those of Baird on the Huguenots have been succeeded by biographies of Calvin and Catherine de' Medici and studies of the contemporary economic and political movements in France and Geneva.[2]

On the Reformation in Germany the American contribution is significant: biographies, notably of Luther, Erasmus, and Zwingli, economic and social studies, new documents, investigations of special topics like the marriage of Philip of Hesse. For other periods of German history we have done less. Tuttle's *History of Prussia* remains incomplete, as does a projected series of Prussian biographies, while Prussianism still awaits its historian. One scholar studies the epoch of Liberation and its immediate antecedents; another has re-examined investiture, the eastward movement, and other problems of the German Middle Ages; another is at home in many phases of modern Germany, including the antecedents of the Great War. German literature has its American historians and translators, and one general history of Germany has been attempted. Scholars of the present generation have contributed more that is independent than did their predecessors, who were more exclusively trained in Germany, and the war has compelled the re-examination of many phases

[2] On the work of Americans in French history, see the survey in the *Revue de Synthèse Historique*, XXIX. 251–277 (1919); and my article, "L'Histoire de France aux États-Unis", in *Revue de Paris*, Feb. 1, 1920.

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of German history, especially the more recent. Since Motley the Netherlands have dropped out of the foreground, though we have added to our credit a biography of William the Silent, a narrative of the age of decline, and a study of the Dutch régime in Java. Switzerland has been of interest chiefly as a problem in democratic federalism and direct popular government.

With respect to the North and East of Europe not much can be said. Gustavus Adolphus and Peter the Great some years ago attracted American biographers, but the recent product is scanty. We have published a useful bibliography of Slavic Europe, but it contains exceedingly few American titles. There are signs of growing interest, and one American has already made himself an acknowledged authority on Poland, while we must not forget the labors of the American-Scandinavian Foundation nor certain recent publications on the medieval history of the North. In the Balkans attention has centred about Turkey, where two or three good studies could be listed. The Byzantine Empire appears to have left America cold, but the Crusades have called forth a considerable number of special investigations, chiefly the work of Munro and his students.

In medieval Italy American interest has been chiefly literary, concerned notably with Dante, as seen in numerous translations and essays, and not forgetting Petrarch and the Sicilian poets. One American has recreated medieval Siena, another devotes himself to Genoa, two others to Norman Sicily, still another has written a general survey of the thirteenth century. Few of our countrymen have utilized the vast resources of the Vatican archives, whether for medieval or for modern subjects. The Italian Renaissance can show little save on the side of art, and there is a wide gap between Columbus and the Napoleonic régime. The standard biography of Cavour is by an American, as every one knows, and the principal library on the Risorgimento has been collected by an American scholar residing in Rome.

Spain, so important for both Americas, can claim the noble volumes of Prescott, Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature,* and Lea's monumental *History of the Inquisition of Spain.* A new awakening is apparent in the work of the Hispanic Society, in a comprehensive narrative of the rise of the Spanish Empire, in the growing activity of literary studies, and in monographs on economic topics like the silver fleets and the Mesta and on institutions in the New World like the *audiencia.* Indeed it is worthy of remark that some of the best research of recent years has been done in fields where European and American history touch—exploration and early cartography, the Cali-

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fornia studies of New Spain and Woodbury Lowery's *Spanish Settlements,* Blair and Robertson's *Philippine Islands,* Thwaites's *Jesuit Relations* and the work of others on New France, a group of studies on the West Indies and the commercial relations in which these islands once played a large part, Alvord's volumes on the French and British occupation of the Mississippi Valley, Burr's researches on the Venezuela boundary, Jameson's *Usselinx,* the collection of treaties and the series of manuals of European archives published by the Carnegie Institution, the various investigations of the origins of the Revolution now brought to a head in Van Tyne, Becker's *Declaration of Independence,* and Coolidge's *United States as a World Power,* and the brilliant studies of British colonial policy by the late George Louis Beer.

In the general history of modern Europe America's outstanding achievement is the writings of Admiral Mahan on sea power, whether we consider their freshness, their admirable lucidity of thought and style, their wide appeal, or their influence on public opinion and the policy of nations; and his triumph should be an inspiration to the young historian. European expansion, intellectual as well as physical, has been suggestively set forth to the end of the eighteenth century; but the general history of the nineteenth century, summarized in certain noteworthy manuals, has drawn no author beyond the limits of one or two volumes. Yet "the day before yesterday" is coming to its own as regards social as well as political movements. Much attention has been paid to the history of diplomacy and international relations, especially under the impetus of the Great War, and more general works are now giving way to monographs, which for the recent period still suffer from the restrictions imposed upon access to archives by the governments of western Europe and the United States. The imposing series of volumes which the Carnegie Endowment is bringing out on the social and economic history of the war is American in plan and editorship, but is written by European authors.

In fields less political America has produced the standard manual of the history of religion, but fewer special studies than might be expected in this domain. The output in church history, apart from the Reformation and the apostolic age, would be disappointing were it not for the labors of Lea, who stands by himself as an historian of the institutions of the Roman church. Self-taught, untravelled, a business man most of his life, his eighteen solid volumes of pioneer work constitute the most considerable product of any American historian in the European field.[3] The newer Catholic scholarship,

[3] I have examined Lea's work more fully in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, XLIII. 182–188 (1909).

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though often trained in European methods, is devoting itself rather to the church history of the United States. Intellectual history is illustrated by Andrew D. White's *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology,* Henry Osborn Taylor's *Mediaeval Mind,* with its forerunners and its continuation to 1600, Thorndike's *Magic and Experimental Science,* Dunning's *History of Political Theories,* with Sullivan's and Emerton's work on Marsiglio of Padua, Putnam's *Censorship,* Babbitt's *Rousseau,* James Harvey Robinson's *Mind in the Making,* scattered writings of George L. Burr, and a number of more special studies, many of them issuing from Columbia University; while intellectual history is also emphasized in Paetow's serviceable guide to the Middle Ages and in his special publications. Apart from certain general handbooks and a creditable review, *Isis,* our contribution to the history of science lies mainly in mathematics. Current interest in the history of art is noteworthy, and names like Charles Herbert Moore and Kingsley Porter in architecture, Marquand and Post in sculpture, Berenson and Mather in painting, are significant examples, not to speak of that unclassifiable book, the *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* of Henry Adams. We have made notable contributions to the palaeography of the early Middle Ages, to the history of language, especially the Greek and Italic dialects, the Romance tongues, and Old and Middle English, and to the comparative history of literature. Witchcraft and folk-lore have not been neglected, and anthropology, ethnology, and anthropogeography have their place. America has given considerable attention to questions of historical methodology, the scope and methods of historical study, and the history of history.

There are many gaps: Ireland and Scotland, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Portugal, most of northern and eastern Europe, many great epochs, much of the fruitful borderland between history and other subjects. Then there is general history, for, save for a single adaptation from the German, of our general histories the less said the better. We can show no undertaking of the type of Oncken or Helmolt, the Cambridge series, Lavisse and Rambaud, or the newer French enterprises. Nor, if it be urged that we lack the accumulated scholarship requisite for such extensive tasks, has any of our writers, whether historian or novelist, essayed a more concise synthesis beyond the limits of a text-book. None of our historians has the range of Acton, Freeman, or Bury; books such as those of Merz and Marvin must still be imported. We have, on the other hand, devoted a large amount of energy to the apparatus of teaching—text-books, syllabi, atlases, source-books, and more extended translations of the

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original materials of history for the use of students and the general public. We have a national fondness for cyclopaedias and bibliographies.

For the most part the characteristics of our work are individual and personal rather than distinctively American. Of that which is best much has been done in the history of institutions, political and legal, ecclesiastical and economic, for which our national experience helps to furnish the necessary basis of understanding. With notable exceptions, we have been less successful in the types of history which make large demands on the imagination. Diplomatic history has made a good beginning, naval history has scored triumphs, military history is in many respects in its infancy, social history is a new *genre,* stronger as yet in its programme than in its achievements. We have done something with the history of ideas, more with the history of art than with that of science and invention—a surprising neglect of a rich field of study for which Americans ought to possess special aptitude. We have explored foreign archives, especially those of England, France, and Spain, and have at times been the first to exploit historically important series of records previously closed or forgotten. Tasks of editorship and textual criticism we can perform, but we have an Anglo-Saxon tendency to think overmuch of the general reader even in our works of erudition, with the result that too many books fall between the scholar and the public, fully serving the needs of neither. It will be to the advantage of both constituencies when we cease to write with one eye on each and come to produce more abundantly books which only scholars need and books which make the results of scholarship really attractive to the wider body of readers.

Our recent publications comprise but few comprehensive works demanding what the French call "a labor of long breath". This can be explained in part by academic and other burdens, in part by the growing difficulty of finding a publisher for a considerable work of the less popular type; but something must be set down to the vogue of the text-book and various forms of fugitive writing. Newspapers and magazines must needs be, and well is it if they find room for sound articles on historical subjects. Far be it from my purpose to imply that the *American Historical Review* is the only journal worthy of the American historian! Nevertheless, the temptation to write much and frequently on topics of current interest—"hot stuff on live subjects"—must be withstood if the historian hopes to accomplish a considerable and finely matured work. Thucydides would have found it hard to syndicate his account of the Sicilian expedition

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from day to day and still produce that "everlasting possession" which Ranke reread every year, and we may well ponder the example of one who set himself to write a book "for all time" rather than an essay "for the passing hour".[4] So, while a good historical text-book is a real achievement, the number at present in circulation is quite unnecessary, swollen as it is beyond that of any other country by the desire of each publishing house to have a complete series for all grades of instruction. Many a promising scholar has been turned aside from more important labors to compile a text for which there is no real need beyond the pecuniary needs of writer and publisher. Moreover, text-books make easy reputations in the public eye and often falsify standards of creative work. A recent survey of American civilization finds that but "three names suggest themselves when history in America is mentioned",[5] and with one partial exception these three are held up to admiration, not for the substantial achievement of each in other forms of historical activity, but as the authors of a remarkable group of school and college texts!

On the whole, the present state of European history in the United States calls neither for self-satisfaction nor for discouragement. There is a wide variety of effort, with conspicuous examples of achievement. We have shown that we can hold our own in many fields of the world's scholarship, though the workers are relatively few, and much territory lies unoccupied. We have only to go forward. No field of inquiry is closed to us; each has its attraction and its opportunity. Like St. Paul at the Three Taverns, we can thank God and take courage. Indeed the mere mention of taverns shows what detachment we have recently achieved from the age-long customs of Europe! Detachment is one of America's great advantages as regards many aspects of European history, but it has its dangers. Cut off from those who drank red wine and shed red blood and even waved red flags, we must not lose understanding of this seething life of an older civilization and write its history as that of another planet upon which we gaze like Olympians across "the lucid interspace". For good and ill, it is all our world, to have "as in our time" the Wife of Bath would say, and the historian has constant need to remind himself that his theme is life, rich and deep and full-blooded, and not running pale beneath his pen. "In the joy of the actors", says Stevenson, "lies the sense of any action." "To miss the joy is to miss all."

It is our world to-day but not to-morrow. If the future of history as a whole is immense, like Matthew Arnold's future of poetry,

[4] Thucydides, I., c. 22.

[5] *Civilization in the United States: an Inquiry by Thirty Americans*, ed. Harold E. Stearns (New York, 1922), p. 547.

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no one can foretell which aspects of history are in store for coming generations in America. No form of history is final, yet each of us naturally looks for the perpetuation of that form in which he has immediate personal interest. Many historians find it easy to be historically minded respecting everything save only history. To them the world may change but the types of history must remain the same. None the less these, too, change, continually and, as Croce has finely shown, without repetition. In the writing of history, as in all other things, we cannot predict to-morrow save that it will be different from to-day.

One function of history, however, is likely to outlast our time, namely the interpretative function, and in none can the historical scholar perform a finer service. The Interpreter in Bunyan's allegory is the master of Mr. Great-heart. As a people we tend to have short memories and quick impulses. We have hastily assumed that the several nations of Europe during the World War were something very different from what they had been before, and that they have again quite changed character and ideals with the peace. The historian knows better, and his countrymen need his steadying vision, which puts the present in its perspective and interprets it in the light of the past. The war was from one point of view a conflict of national psychologies, and the peace is much the same. Each nation, in Clemenceau's phrase, "lives encased in its own past", and its action is determined by its inherited mentality. To explain these mentalities historically to America is the historian's no mean task. Indirectly, also, he interprets America to Europe. A certain large volume on America throws quite as much light on the workings of the German mind as on the United States, while Bryce's *American Commonwealth* mirrors much of England at her best. Excellent American books on European history will increase respect for American scholarship, American fair-mindedness, mayhap American originality, and help Europe to understand the American mind. May we be judged by our best, and may our best be abundant! Such interpretation need not always be indirect. American historians have also the opportunity to do for their country what Lavisse has just done for France in those serene and luminous pages of farewell with which he concludes his literary labors and his co-operative *Histoire de la France Contemporaine*; and they might even find a common denominator between American idealism and the "very free democracy, always seeking a greater social justice, neither disturbed by violence nor seduced by utopias, reasoning and reasonable", which the veteran historian pictures as the supreme ambition of France.

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The function of the historian as interpreter exists not merely as between nations; it concerns larger groups. There are common elements in European civilization which the American historian should be the first to discern and whose history he should be able to trace without those national prejudices from which his European confrères cannot wholly emancipate themselves. Thus Charlemagne to him is neither a German nor a Frenchman but a European figure. So, too, he is bound to see the United States as part of a larger whole. We speak, for convenience's sake, of European and American history, creating separate professorships and sometimes even separate departments, and many people like to think of American history as providentially cut off from Europe by Columbus, or the Revolution, or the rejection of the Treaty of Versailles. It is the historian's business to tie Europe and America together in the popular mind. For colonial and Revolutionary times the fundamental work has in large measure been accomplished by the scholars of the present generation; for the federal period it has only begun. Our connections with Europe have been most evident in time of war and often forgotten in the intervals of peace. The great European wars have in every instance also been American wars; they have even become world wars. "In order that he might rob a neighbor whom he had promised to defend", writes Macaulay of Frederick the Great, "black men fought on the coast of Coromandel, and red men scalped each other by the Great Lakes of North America." A century and a half later Frederick's successor violated a neutrality he was pledged to respect, and a nameless American soldier lies at Arlington while thousands of his comrades sleep beneath their crosses at Romagne. Nor is the repercussion of events across the Atlantic confined to periods of war. Ireland has a potato famine in 1848, and Boston has an Irish mayor in 1922. Karl Marx and Engels publish their *Communist Manifesto* in this same 1848, and two generations later Bolshevism appears in the lumber camps of the Pacific Northwest. Even in the face of the World War, the man in the street does not see these connections and what they imply. The historian sees them, and it is his duty to make them clear to the man in the street and the man in public office. The historian sees them, whether he be occupied primarily with Europe or with America, for at this point the tasks of these two groups merge, and their very subject-matter conspires to bring about a unity which in methods of work and habits of mind they necessarily possess. The old dichotomy is passing as the New World grows old—prematurely old, some would say, or is it only a passing mood of disenchantment in both hemispheres, as when Barrie declares that "the war has taken

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spring out of the year"? Young or old, Europe and America are now in the same boat, along with the still older Orient, all common material for history. The historian's world is one; let him interpret it as one, in relation both to scholarship and to the molding of public opinion!

The American Historical Association, ever since its foundation in 1884, has stood for a large and comprehensive conception of the historian's task. It was established, in the words of its charter, to promote "the interest of American history and history in America". The programmes of its meetings have been catholic and varied, including when possible foreign scholars; its *Review* has been open to workers in all branches of history while keeping its readers in touch with the historical movement throughout the world. The Association has had among its members men eminent in European as well as American history, occasionally writers like Henry Adams and Mahan who have shone brilliantly in both fields and have illuminated the common problems of the historical student. National in its membership, it has been international in its outlook. It has welcomed the work of both scholar and interpreter, new ideas as well as new learning. It has kept the unity of the historical faith, and conserved the freedom of history. The work of this Association and of its members is the best guarantee of the future of historical scholarship in America.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

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THE LONDON MISSION OF THOMAS PINCKNEY, 1792–1796[1]

THOMAS PINCKNEY, of Charleston, South Carolina, was the first minister of the United States, under the present federal government, to the court of St. James. His appointment, in November, 1791, was largely a matter of form then necessary to complete a full exchange of diplomatic representatives which had been initiated in the summer of that year by the establishment of George Hammond as first British minister in the United States. The impressive strength manifested by the government under the new Constitution destroyed the contempt with which George III.'s advisers had regarded the American Union ever since independence, and put an end to their refusal to lodge a representative at the American capital. The presence of George Hammond as British minister at Philadelphia in 1791 was, in fact, the first marked success of Washington's new administration in the field of foreign affairs. It had been understood that if a minister should be sent to the United States an American representative would be despatched at once to London. It was after Hammond had specifically notified the Secretary of State of this expectation[2] that Pinckney was notified of his appointment.[3]

[1] This paper is based on Pinckney's official despatches and instructions in the archives of the Department of State. These have been studied in the light of contemporary correspondence of the British Foreign Office and of the various sources for the history of the Jay Treaty, supplementary source-material which is indispensable for any thorough understanding of the Pinckney mission. I am indebted to the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Department of Historical Research, for copies and digests of the papers in the archives of the Department of State. These were made by Dr. Newton D. Mereness. For remarks on the importance of the Pinckney papers in the archives of the Department of State see A. C. McLaughlin, *Report on the Diplomatic Archives in the Department of State, 1789–1840* (Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1906), p. 11. Thomas Pinckney's letter-books, now preserved in the collections of the South Carolina Historical Society, I have not been able to examine personally, but the librarian of the society, Miss Mabel L. Webber, has obligingly examined them for me in respect to certain points. These papers were used by Trescot for his *Diplomatic History of the Administrations of Washington and Adams*, and by the Rev. Dr. C. C. Pinckney for his biography of his grandfather, *Life of General Thomas Pinckney* (Boston, 1895), which contains a certain number of pieces from the family papers. The biography, not the work of a professional scholar, is discursive, and written with little attention to other sources than the family papers.

[2] Hammond to Grenville, Philadelphia, Oct. 28, Nov. 1, 16, 1791, Public Record Office, Foreign Office Records, America (hereinafter cited as F.O.), 4: 11.

[3] Jefferson to Pinckney, draft, Nov. 6, 1791, Jefferson MSS., Library of

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The President's selection was an expedient one and the appointment was acceptable to Pinckney personally.[4] It gave the extreme South the most important post in the diplomatic service and it sent to the British court a man who was highly *persona grata.* Pinckney was a lawyer of forty, a planter, with a good military record and

Congress, printed as letter sent in *Works* (ed. Washington), III. 298; but the letter actually sent was of Nov. 9. Among the Jefferson MSS. is a letter of that date from the President, amiable but decided, of which the whole text is, "Enclosed is the letter to Majr. Pinckney. For the reasons mentioned to you yesterday, I prefer London to Paris for his Mission. Yrs. affect'ly." Apparently Jefferson had suggested Paris. The offer was enclosed in a letter to the postmaster at Charleston, who was requested to forward it quickly, and sent thither by sea by the hands of the young Lord Wycombe, eldest son of the Marquis of Lansdowne (Shelburne), who after visiting the northern and eastern states was now sailing for Charleston, armed with introductions from the President to the chief men of South Carolina; Jefferson MSS., Washington MSS., and Washington's letter-book, Library of Congress. Pinckney to Edward Rutledge, Nov. 24, 1791, in Pinckney's *Pinckney,* pp. 99–101; to Jefferson, accepting, Nov. 29, State Department, Despatches, England, III.; to Washington, do., Washington MSS.

[4] According to Alexander Hamilton, *Works* (ed. J. C. Hamilton), VII. 700, Pinckney's appointment originated in the President's own mind. This statement receives corroboration from a letter which Jefferson wrote in cipher to Short Nov. 9, 1791, secretly informing him of the offer to Pinckney, and adding, "There was never a symptom by which I could form a guess on this subject till 3 days ago", *i.e.,* till Nov. 6, the date of the draft mentioned in the preceding note; *Writings* (ed. Ford), V. 389. Washington may have seen Major Pinckney at Yorktown, though he had never met him before that (Washington to Gates, May 12, 1781, Washington MSS., B XIII.), and he must have seen something of him during his fortnight's visit to South Carolina in the spring of this same year 1791. Jefferson had no personal acquaintance with him; *Works* (ed. Washington), III. 298. Hammond reports to Grenville, Nov. 1, 1791, that he had been informed, through a private channel, that the President was in "some degree of indecision with respect to two of his personal friends, whom he would wish to bring forward upon this occasion"; no. 2, F.O. 4: 11. On Nov. 16, no. 4, *ibid.,* he wrote that most probably the post in London had been offered to "a Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina", but the joint letter of May 24, 1791, by which Edward Rutledge and C. C. Pinckney decline Washington's offer of a seat in the Supreme Court, *Writings* (ed. Ford), XII. 43, puts that notion out of the question. James Bowdoin the younger, afterward minister to Spain, applied for the appointment Dec. 3, too late; see his letter in Gaillard Hunt, *Calendar of Applications and Recommendations for Office during the Presidency of George Washington* (Washington, 1901), p. iv. Before Pinckney replied to Jefferson or had said anything about his appointment, some one in Charleston knew of it and, much to his vexation, gave the information to the press (Pinckney to Jefferson, Dec. 1, 1791, State Dept., Despatches, Eng., III.). There is nothing to substantiate John Adams's capricious charge, which he later withdrew after it had been the cause of much embarrassment in the presidential campaign of 1800, that the appointment was the result of a successful intrigue of the Pinckney brothers for the place (see Pinckney's *Pinckney,* pp. 150–176).

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one term as governor of his state to his credit. Absolutely devoid of any diplomatic experience, he was a staunch supporter of the new Constitution and had used his official influence in South Carolina to secure its ratification. As much as any American patriot could be who had nearly died of wounds received on the field of battle against the troops of George III., Pinckney was a friend of England. When his father had been colonial agent for South Carolina in London the young boy had been entered at the fashionable Westminster School, and his educational career did not end until, after his course at Oxford and year's sojourn in France, he had finished his studies at the Temple.[5] If his intellectual training and eighteen years in England did not leave him with a pleasing style, it endowed him with an appreciation of literary merit and a devotion to the classical culture which the best English minds of that day were so content to indulge. Contact with the European world, too, had served to polish the natural urbanity, social balance, and dignity which were the birthright of his name.

Pinckney accepting the offer, the nomination was laid before the Senate, with others, on December 22, and confirmed on January 12, 1792. The delay was not due to any opposition to Pinckney's name, but to a prolonged consideration of the whole matter of appointments to diplomatic service abroad.[6] He arrived in Philadelphia at the end of April and embarked at New York for his post June 18.[7]

Hammond, the new British minister, had been quick to sound out the political temper of American personalities. Because of the political intimacy which he had cultivated with Alexander Hamilton and other leading Federalists he had exceptional facilities for this. It should be remembered that in 1792 Hamilton was Anglophil enough to propose in cabinet meeting an Anglo-American alliance, one of the purposes of which would be to secure from Spain the opening of the Mississippi River to the joint navigation of Americans and Canadians.[8] Hammond soon became confident that Pinckney could be counted among the "party of the British interest", *i.e.*, those who opposed any specific discriminations on British commerce and who

[5] Pinckney's *Pinckney*. He returned to America in 1774, just in time to participate vigorously in the Revolution against the crown.

[6] *Writings* of Washington (ed. Ford), XII. 96–97, 99–100; of Jefferson (ed. Ford), V. 417, 421, 423, 433; Jefferson MSS.; Marshall's *Washington*, V. 370 n.

[7] *Writings* of Jefferson, V. 512. Hammond to Grenville, July 3, 1792, no. 28, F.O. 4: 16; Ternant to Dumouriez, June 20, *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1903, II. 133.

[8] *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII. 423.

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advocated generally closer relationships between the two countries on the basis of the *status quo*.

> Those persons of this country who are desirous of promoting and preserving a good understanding with Great Britain are extremely well satisfied with Mr. Pinckney's appointment, as they consider the circumstance of his education at Westminster School, and of his having passed a great part of his life in England, as having a natural tendency to inspire him with a predilection for the country, and a desire of rendering his conduct satisfactory.

This was Hammond's information privately conveyed to Grenville soon after he learned of the new appointee.[9] "A man of mild and liberal manners and perfectly untinctured with any sort of prejudices",[10] was his judgment after meeting Pinckney just before the latter sailed for England.[11]

In the paucity of specific duties prescribed for the minister, Jefferson's instructions indicate readily enough what the student of the period knows, that all the matters of major importance were then being handled by the Secretary of State personally in his negotiations with Hammond. Pinckney's chief duty was that of expressing "that spirit of sincere friendship which we bear to the English nation". In all transactions with the Foreign Secretary he was directed to conciliate that official's good disposition by whatever in language or attentions might tend to that effect. He was particularly recommended to seek the liberation of American commerce from restrictions imposed on it within British dominions, especially the West Indies, and to seek the adoption of some arrangement for the protection of American seamen from the press-gangs of British ports.[12]

The first of these subjects was soon absorbed by the Hammond-Jefferson negotiations in the United States and does not appear to have been touched by Pinckney at London. The second, regulation of impressment, furnished the burden (aside from routine representations) of Pinckney's light task in the months previous to the outbreak of the war between France and England. The small importance attached to the mission at first, aside from that of properly

[9] Hammond to Grenville, private, Philadelphia, Jan. 9, 1792, *Dropmore Papers*, II. 250.

[10] Same to same, June 8, 1792, no. 21, F.O. 4: 15.

[11] "We have a new American Minister, Mr. Pinckney, an old friend and brother-Westminster of mine, whose manners and temper exactly qualify him for the place he has taken. I have known him above thirty years, and do not know a more worthy and excellent man." J. B. Burges, under-secretary for foreign affairs, to Lord Auckland, British minister at the Hague, private, Whitehall, Aug. 10, 1792. *Journal and Correspondence of William, Lord Auckland*, II. 431.

[12] Jefferson to Pinckney, June 11, 1792, *Writings* of Jefferson (ed. Ford), VII. 104.

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fulfilling a required formality, is testified by the meagreness of Jefferson's despatches. Such few letters as were written in the year 1792 and the early months of 1793 confine themselves almost altogether to petty routine claims, or, for example, the purchase of copper for the United States mint, and the hiring of European technicians to superintend the new coinage. Negotiations between the United States and Great Britain in those months were important but not lodged in Pinckney's care.

Pinckney reached London August 3, 1792, and learned that Lord Grenville, secretary of state for foreign affairs, was in the midst of his honeymoon. The new minister was presented to the king by Henry Dundas, home secretary, who reported to Grenville: "He is rather a gentlemanlike man, and the king's conversation to him was highly proper."[13]

Very discreetly Pinckney delayed disturbing the delights of Grenville's country sojourns until a more propitious moment. "I am told at the office", he wrote, "that any matter of business which I may have to transact with my Lord Grenville will be immediately communicated to him by their messenger—but I fear that if I were to occasion his leaving home under his present circumstances he might not bring with him that temper of mind in which I hope to meet him at a future day." No one can accuse the mild-tempered[14] South Carolinian of a diplomatic blunder in these the first days of his new career.[15]

The propriety of the king's conversation "to" the American minister was distinctly chilly.

> The only circumstance worth remarking in my conference with the King was that lord North's rope of sand appeared not to have been entirely effaced from his Majesty's memory, which I infer from his mentioning the differing circumstances of the northern and southern parts of our country as tending to produce disunion. I declined entering into any discussion on the subject, observing only that we agreed very well at present and hoped a continuance of the same disposition.

Pinckney faithfully attended the royal levees along with the other members of the diplomatic corps. George III. never failed to hold a

[13] Dundas to Grenville, Aug. 8, 1792, *Dropmore Papers*, II. 299. Pinckney was received at the Foreign Office by his "old acquaintance and schoolfellow", Burges, who had taken pains first to call on him. Grenville saw him briefly Aug. 4, but was leaving town. Burges introduced him to Dundas. Pinckney to the Secretary of State, Aug. 7, 1792, Despatches, Eng., III.

[14] It should be remembered that Pinckney's urbanity had not remained unruffled during his military campaigns. By the resolute method of cutting down its leader with his sword he had, single-handed, quelled an incipient mutiny while captain of infantry in 1776. Pinckney's *Pinckney*, p. 49.

[15] Pinckney to the Secretary of State, Aug. 29, 1792, Despatches, Eng., III.

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few moments' conversation with him "on the weather or other topic equally important", but carefully eschewed political subjects. The court and diplomatic corps generally seemed to hold the United States, by virtue of the example of the American Revolution, somewhat responsible for the convulsions brought on Europe by the French upheaval. Consequently Americans were not considered desirable associates. This Pinckney gathered from the foreign ministers with whom he was able to cultivate any degree of intimacy. "At the same time they have been polite enough to make themselves a proper distinction between the mode of conducting the revolutions in the two countries", he recorded.[16]

Pinckney's representations concerning impressments[17] give us a glimpse into the beginning of this notable and insoluble issue. Since the war of American independence there had been little occasion for the press-gang in British ports. But during the Nootka crisis of 1790 a press of seamen occurred to man the new naval armaments intended for a Spanish war. Several American sailors were then taken in British ports. Release of these men was eventually secured, through the intervention of American consuls and of Gouverneur Morris, who was then on an informal mission to the British Foreign Office as the personal agent of President Washington.[18] Some of the men thus reduced to servitude found their liberty only after barbarous treatment on board British men-of-war. The expense and inconvenience to the government in liberating the impressed sailors, and possibly the indefensible character of the outrage, had impelled Jefferson to urge the adoption of some arrangement to prevent impressments whenever another European crisis should occur.[19] The question of impressment in this instance was limited to British territorial waters. In the discussion which Morris had with the Duke of Leeds in 1790 Morris had suggested that American sailors be furnished with certificates of citizenship as a protection. Jefferson repelled this proposition and suggested that British press-gangs might be permitted to board an American ship in British port only when the crew of that ship was ascertained, by a previous visit of a strictly limited number of officers, to have more than an agreed

[16] Same to same, Dec. 13, 1792, *ibid.*, printed in Trescot's *Diplomatic History*, pp. 86–87, and in Pinckney's *Pinckney*, pp. 103–105.

[17] Mahan's classic historical summary of impressments does not mention Pinckney's diplomacy on this subject. See *Sea Power and the War of 1812*, I. 114–128.

[18] *American State Papers, Foreign Relations* (hereinafter referred to as *A.S.P., F.R.*), I. 124.

[19] Jefferson to Washington, Feb. 7, 1792, *Writings* of Jefferson, VI. 388.

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proportion of hands to her tonnage. He actually authorized Pinckney to agree to an article of convention on such a basis,[20] a principle which, to any disciple of Mahan, would appear a most supine solution. Jefferson did not attempt to deny the domestic jurisdiction of England within any of her own waters into which American ships might choose to sail; he even admitted the propriety of impressment of surplus crews in case an American captain should refuse to deliver up the men stipulated by the press-captain.

Pinckney, with unusual discernment for a man of his limited European experience, immediately on his arrival foresaw the possibility of England's being involved in the Continental war then raging. Because of this, he believed it desirable to adjust the problem of impressment before any new occasion for sudden expansion of the British navy should occur.[21] Conferences with Lord Grenville on the subject and written representations dragged along without result.[22] When the war with France did in fact begin, impressments commenced anew. They continued with ominous frequency. Soon British captains ventured to take alleged British subjects from the decks of American ships without careful distinction between territorial waters and the high seas. In February, 1793, Pinckney was referred by Grenville to Phineas Bond,[23] who was delegated, without powers, to discuss the subject. Bond suggested the old idea of furnishing in the United States certificates of citizenship to American seamen setting forth on the seas.

> I told him the inconveniences arising from this procedure [reports Pinckney] would be equally felt by both nations, for that we should expect their seamen to be furnished with similar testimonials when they came to our ports to those they expected our mariners would bring to theirs; he asked in what instance it could become necessary (alluding I presume to our not being in the habit of impressing). I answered that unless we could come to some accomodation which might insure our seamen against this oppression measures would be taken to cause the inconvenience to be equally felt on both sides.[24]

Soon afterward Bond was sent back to the United States as a consul-general. Pinckney wrote in April:

> I have no hope of obtaining at present any convention respecting seamen, as lord Grenville now says it is necessary for them to make enquiries as to some points in America, which object is given in charge

[20] Jefferson to Pinckney, June 11, 1792, *Writings* of Jefferson, VII. 104–107.
[21] Pinckney to Jefferson, Aug. 29, 1792, Despatches, Eng., III.
[22] Same to same, Dec. 13, 1792, Jan. 3, Mar. 13, 1793, *ibid.*
[23] Consul at Philadelphia, then on a vacation in England.
[24] Pinckney to Jefferson, Mar. 13, 1793, Despatches, Eng., III.

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to Mr. Bond.[25] The impressment on the present occasion has not been so detrimental to our trade as it was on former occasions, though several instances of hardship have occurred which I have endeavor'd to remedy but not always with success.

Jefferson regarded this failure to be of a "serious nature indeed" but decided "to hazard no further reflection on the subject through the present channel of consequences [*sic*]".[26]

Pinckney was henceforth reduced to the procedure of protesting all cases of impressment which came to his attention and of supplicating for the immediate release of American seamen concerned. At first his numerous notes to this effect were met with a certain accommodation. Americans, when proved to be such to the satisfaction of the Admiralty, were let go. At first, too, some moderation was manifest as to impressments from American ships. Toward the end of 1793 and in the spring of 1794 Pinckney's applications met with less success. Fewer Americans succeeded in proving their citizenship. Uniformly the answer to the minister's notes was that they had been referred to the Admiralty for decision. Correspondence then passed back and forth with great delay between the various departments—a veritable "circumlocution office". Meanwhile the impressed American sailor might be sent off on a long voyage to the East Indies or exposed to the hazards of warfare against an enemy for whom he bore no enmity. Apparently this mode of procedure was not insupportable to the government. It was tolerated, except for written protests, to the extent that when Jay was sent to England on his special mission in 1794 to prevent war, if possible, the matter of impressment was not mentioned in his comprehensive instructions. Except for Pinckney's protests these unfortunate sailors were abandoned to the atrocious British practice and left to prove their own citizenship as best they could. Many an American boy seeking adventure in a voyage at sea ended it in the forecastle of a British man-of-war.

Through the spring and summer of 1794 and throughout the Jay negotiations (which reached no settlement of the impressment issue), Pinckney peppered the Foreign Office with applications for the release of impressed Americans. His notes, some of them several times repeated, were solemnly referred to the Admiralty with instruc-

[25] "You mention that when proposing arrangements for the regulation of impressments . . . you were told that Mr. Bond was to make enquiries here for a final arrangement. He has been long arrived, and we have never heard of any enquiries." Jefferson to Pinckney, Sept. 11, 1793, State Dept., Instructions to U. S. Ministers, II. 16.

[26] Jefferson to Pinckney, June 2, 1793, *Writings* of Jefferson, VII. 359.

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tions for release "if the men should be proved to be Americans". Months often passed before action was taken, if taken at all. "Transmitted to the Admiralty with the usual letter" is the form of indorsement one reads on the back of such a note.[27] To Pinckney's request that some "permanent arrangement" for the prevention of such injustices be made, Grenville replied curtly that there was no disinclination on the part of his government to accede to any permanent arrangement "which shall not be so open to abuse, as to produce to the Public Service of this Country an Inconvenience far exceeding that of which Mr. Pinckney complains on the part of the American States".[28]

For a short period after the signature of Jay's Treaty the press-gangs were more circumspect. "Mr. Jay and I continue to be treated with great Attention by the Members of the Administration," Pinckney reported on February 2, 1795 (the treaty was signed on November 19, 1794), "and I have lately been more successful than heretofore in obtaining the Liberation of our impressed Mariners."[29] In April of that year he left London as a special plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty with Spain, turning over affairs of the legation to his sharp-quilled secretary, William A. Deas, as chargé. Relaxation of impressments now proved to have been only temporary and not practised at all in the West Indies.[30] Deas continued to send in applications for release, as well as protests at the arbitrary conduct of British cruisers in violation of the maritime principles written into the new treaty.[31] Even the propitiatory Jay after his return to the United States felt impelled to write Grenville a polite private note mildly suggesting that the severity of impressments was greatly injuring the work of conciliation recently accomplished by the treaty.[32]

Though Jefferson had not approved the principle, the practice developed of American sailors using their own initiative to secure certificates of citizenship from the United States consuls abroad, or from a magistrate either in the United States or in foreign countries.[33] On May 28, 1796, Congress enacted a law allowing but not

27 Pinckney to Grenville, Oct. 28, 1794, F.O. 5: 7.

28 Grenville to Pinckney, Mar. 17, 1794, Despatches, Eng., III.

29 Pinckney to the Secretary of State, Feb. 2, 1795, *ibid.*

30 For impressment of 76 Americans at Hispaniola and protest of the American chargé at London, see Deas to Grenville, Nov. 5, Dec. 22, 1795, F.O. 5: 12.

31 For correspondence between Deas and Grenville see F.O. 5: 12.

32 Jay to Grenville, New York, May 1, 1796, F.O. 5: 16.

33 Following are copies of (*a*) a certificate of citizenship granted by the American consul at London, (*b*) a certificate of citizenship by voluntary deposition before the lord mayor of London:

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compelling such "protections" to be taken out.[34] After this the Admiralty refused to liberate any American who could not produce such a protection.[35] Jefferson's fear that this would be the case if the policy of issuing certificates should be adopted was thus promptly realized. Nor did a "protection" necessarily protect. There was the suspicion that it might have been fraudulently secured, and it frequently was.[36] Again, a "natural-born" British subject might

(*a*) "Joshua Johnson, Esq., Consul to the United States of America for the Port of London, etc., etc. Witnesseth, that the Bearer hereof (a description of whose person is on the other side), to wit, *Richard Weaver, a black man,* appears by affidavit made this day by *William Blen,* before *James Robinson, Esq.,* one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace, and witnessed by *Lieutenant W. I. Stephens,* to be a Subject of the United States of America, as such being liable to be called upon in the service of his country, must not, on any Pretense whatever, be interrupted in his lawful business, by Sea or Land, either by Impress Masters, or any other Officers, Civil or Military. London, 21 July 1791, JOSHUA JOHNSON." (Note: a printed form, italics and small capitals indicating the words filled in by handwriting.)

(*b*) "These are to Certify to those whom it may concern *that Captain Samuel Chancery of the Ship Hercules of Portsmouth in New Hampshire* came before me, *Paul Le Mesurier, Lord Mayor of the City* And voluntarily maketh Oath and sayeth, to the best of his Knowledge and Belief, that *Robert Darling* (the description of whose Person is at the Bottom) *is a Native and Citizen of the* United States of America, and that he is actually one of the crew of the American Ship *Hercules* as a *Seaman*—SAM'L CHANCERY. And the said *Robert Darling* Likewise maketh Oath and sayeth, that he is a Native of America, and a Citizen of the United States of America and that to the best of his Knowledge and Belief he was born in *Portsmouth* County, in the State of *New Hampshire,* and that he is one of the Crew of the Ship *Hercules.* ROBERT DARLING. Sworn before me, London July 27, 1794, PAUL LE MESURIER, Mayor. Description: The said *Robert Darling* is about 5 Feet 4 Inches high *brown* Complexion *brown* hair, *and* about *28* years of age." (Note: as in *a*.) These forms were enclosed in Pinckney to Grenville, Oct. 28, 1794, F.O. 5: 7.

[34] Act of May 28, 1796, *Statutes at Large,* I. 477.

[35] Nepean to Hammond, Admiralty Office, Apr. 2, May 7, 1796, F.O. 5: 16.

[36] "I have this day received from Mr. Moore, Information that the Seamen who deserted from His Majesty's *Africa* and *Thistle* in Boston Harbour, have entered on Board the *Hunter* and *Washington* East Indiaman, fitting out at New York, and on Board the East India Ships, the *George Washington* and *General Greene* now getting ready for Sea at Providence in Rhode Island: And that the Seamen who deserted from the *Nautilus* are also in the American East India Trade. One of our Seamen who has entered on Board the Ship *General Greene,* gave this Intelligence; His name is Thomas McCartney, who declared half the Crew would be British Sailors. The Crew will be furnished with a Species of Passport declaring the respective Seamen to be native American Citizens. These Passports my Lord are, for the most part, Magisterial Attestations, in some instances having the Solemnity of a Corporate Seal. No sort of Reliance is to be placed upon them, nor, I should presume, will any thing be deemed competent to operate as a protection, short of a Certificate of Birth to be attested by His Majesty's Consuls within the United States." Bond to

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have become a naturalized American citizen, even if English judges would not admit that possibility.

Pinckney returned to London in April, 1796, and immediately took up again the matter of impressments. He continued to apply for release of American citizens who could establish their identity, thus practically[37] acquiescing in the procedure of the Admiralty and only trying to secure quicker justice under the Admiralty's definition of it. In going over his correspondence with the Foreign Office from January 1 to July 1, 1796 (including some letters of Deas), the writer has enumerated fifty cases in which Pinckney or Deas requested the release of American sailors. Such cross-correspondence as is on file at the Foreign Office between that department and the Admiralty shows that in thirty-five of these cases investigation was requested by the Foreign Office. Refusal by the Admiralty to release on ground of insufficient proof is reported in sixteen cases. Liberation in the case of three men is to be noted. Frequently the investigations of the Admiralty were only perfunctory and discontinued on the least excuse. One of the impressed men, for instance, was said by Pinckney to be in the hospital. When the Admiralty "got around" to look up the case the man was found not to be in the hospital as reported. The case was straightway dropped.[38] One wonders whether he had died or had been sent back to his ship.

In another instance one of the several men whose release was requested in the same note was found to be on board a ship that had recently sailed from Plymouth. Investigation was promised upon the return of the war-vessel, but we are left to wonder what was done with the other men whose names were included in the list affected by the forced departure of one of them.[39] On another occasion a man was held because he could not answer to the satisfaction of a British officer questions of geography pertaining to America.[40] Sometimes

Grenville, Philadelphia, Nov. 25, 1795. It is significant that the above-quoted extract was conveyed to the Admiralty. See also letter of Admiralty Office to Grenville, May 12, 1795, F.O. 5: 12, transmitting letter of collector and comptroller of port of Glasgow, telling of British seamen "clandestinely employed" on American vessels, including several men who left the village of Dunoon for service on an American ship, the captain of which was offering wages as high as six pounds sterling a month.

[37] Pinckney's statement of the case was that "if the seamen impressed should not appear *bona fide* subjects of His Majesty . . . they be released and such measures adopted as to prevent similar conduct in the future". Pinckney to Grenville, May 14, 1796, F.O. 5: 16.

[38] Nepean to Burges, Admiralty Office, Mar. 11, 1795. F.O. 5: 12.

[39] Same to same, Mar. 10, 1795, *ibid.*

[40] Letter of Capt. Haworth, Kingshead, Mar. 7, 1794, enclosed in letter of Joshua Johnson (American consul at London) to Pinckney, contained in Pinckney to Grenville, Mar. 17, 1794, F.O. 5: 7.

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the captain of the British ship acknowledged the men to be Americans but refused to let them go without instructions from the Admiralty, which he never received.[41] Though there is evidence of fraud in the matter of protection papers and though not infrequently the British seaman, attracted by high wages and better living conditions as well as immunity from war risks, may have deserted into the American merchant marine, there are also several cases recorded, at the beginning of the war at least, where British subjects bound by contract in American crews deserted to enlist on board a man-of-war. The deserter's ship was then distrained to collect his back-wages which the American captain had refused to pay on the breaking of the contract.[42] Some American sailors are recorded by the Admiralty as having accepted the king's bounty and regularly enlisted. They were never released. Enough has been said to show that the system of impressment in British ports tolerated by the United States government was, with all its qualifications and whatever defense it had from the point of view of military necessity on the part of England, an outrageous enslaving of American citizens. The United States could not secure its rights because it had no navy to enforce them. It could not retaliate by impressment of British sailors, for it had not enough warships on which to put the British subjects against whom the reprisals might be made.

Upon Pinckney's return to London from Madrid he had before him a perfect case of impressment on the high seas with sufficiently explicit documentary evidence to enable him to support it without question of fact. In a note to Grenville shortly before his departure home at the end of his mission Pinckney entered into a lengthy discussion of the principles of impressment, drawing a sharp distinction between impressment within British territorial waters and on the high seas. It might be a right, however impolitic, he said, for Great Britain to require proofs of citizenship from foreigners within her jurisdiction; but when men were impressed on the high seas it was immaterial whether they had such proofs so long as the ship itself was American. There was no right by which a man could be forcibly taken from an American ship on the high seas.

> No article of the existing Treaty [Jay's] requires, neither does any Maxim of the Law of Nations impose upon Americans the hard Condition of not being able to navigate the Seas without taking with them such Proofs of their being Citizens of the United States as may satisfy the Officers of any Power who may judge it expedient to stop and dis-

[41] Pinckney to Grenville, Oct. 15, 1794, F.O. 5: 7.

[42] Pinckney to Grenville, Dec. 31, 1792; to the Secretary of State, Feb. 5, 1793, Despatches, Eng., III.

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tress their Vessels on this Account. And as it is a fair Argument to illustrate a Position by reversing it, it may be asked what Sensations it would excite here if the Commanders of American armed Vessels should take upon themselves to stop British Vessels on the High Sea and impress into their Service such of the Mariners as had not with them full Proof of their being His Majesty's Subjects.[43]

Grenville denied the validity of any such distinction. He declared that the principle that the jurisdiction of a state over a ship is supreme till the ship enters a foreign port had never been recognized by the British government nor by the best authorities on international law.

It was unknown to the practice or pretentions of all civilized nations in former times. On the contrary it appears perfectly clear that the belligerent has a right to visit neutral vessels upon the high seas to take therefrom all goods belonging to such subjects of the enemy (a right inconsistent with every idea of territory) and to take the subjects of the enemy, found on board, as prisoners of war—it has also the right to take its own subjects found on board of a foreign vessel on the high seas, for all the purposes for which they are liable to be taken by any act of its legal power and discretion. . . . [This right Grenville declared was being used cautiously and discreetly. It would not be relinquished.] Instances . . . unquestionably have occurred of seamen being detained as British subjects, who were actually citizens of the United States, but there is little doubt of their being but rare. If any mode can be devised by the mutual concurrence of both countries of identifying *native* [italics inserted] citizens of the United States and thereby exempting them from impressment, His Majesty's Government will most cheerfully accede to it. In the meantime until such an arrangement can be made, it will always be ready to receive with attention every application relating to the impressment of persons alleged to be Americans, and to liberate all such as may be proved of that description.[44]

This was the last act of Pinckney as American minister to the court of St. James. When he departed the issue of impressment was left clear-cut. Repeated efforts of his to secure an arrangement satisfactory to both countries showed that Grenville's professed willingness for any such arrangement was subject to a strict maintenance of the principles set forth in the above quotation. Applications for the release of impressed Americans were made with increasing frequency during the latter part of 1796. Scarcely a day passed without correspondence on the matter between the successor of Pinckney and the Foreign Office.[45] From then on until the War of 1812 any American

[43] Pinckney to Grenville, June 16, 1796, Despatches, Eng., III.

[44] Grenville to Pinckney, July 13, 1796, F.O. 5: 6.

[45] "An account of the Number of Applications which have been made to this Office by Ld. Grenville, for the discharge of Seamen said to be citizens of America, together with the number of persons applied for, and of those dis-

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citizen who had the misfortune to look like an Englishman and who could not prove to the satisfaction of the British Admiralty that he was not one, was likely to be seized from the deck of an American ship whenever that ship ventured from an American harbor, and placed in the hull of a British man-of-war perhaps for the remainder of his natural life. Acquiescence in this atrocious injustice is a real measure of the military and naval strength of the United States in the first twenty-five years of its existence.

After the outbreak of the Anglo-French war in 1793 Pinckney soon received intimations as to what the British policy as to contraband, neutral property, and neutral decks would be.[46] Several weeks before the issue of the famous Provision Order of June 8, 1793,[47] he warned Jefferson to expect it, and received instructions to protest any procedure not sanctioned by the "modern" usage of nations.[48] He himself thought that opposition by the United States should be restricted to nothing more than commercial retaliation.[49] He replied to the order by elaborating the injury caused to neutral shipping and the ill-will which this procedure, not to be supported by any modern principle of international law, would arouse in America.[50] After this perfunctory protest he proceeded to use his best efforts to secure judgment of freight and demurrage to American ships whose cargoes, under the order, were pre-empted for British instead of French grain-bins. To Pinckney's observations on international law Grenville replied that he had directed Hammond to make some explanations on that subject.[51] When later in the year a formal protest was delivered by the American minister,[52] at Jefferson's direction, the Foreign Secretary again shifted the discussion across the Atlantic, and directed Hammond to answer the note in the same temperate and

charged, between Aug. 1, 1796, and March 9, 1797: Number of Applications, 31. Number of persons applied for, 254. Number of persons discharged, 83." Dated Admiralty Office, Mar. 9, 1797, F.O. 5: 20.

[46] Pinckney to the Sec. of State, Jan. 30, Mar. 13, Apr. 5, 1793, Despatches, Eng., III.

[47] "That it shall be lawful to stop and detain all vessels loaded wholly or in part with corn, flour, or meal, bound to any port in France, or any port occupied by the armies of France . . . " and to purchase the said cargoes, with a due allowance to the master of the vessel for freight. *A.S.P., F.R.*, I. 240.

[48] Jefferson to Pinckney, May 7, 1793, State Dept., Instructions to U. S. Ministers, I. 278–281.

[49] *A.S.P., F.R.*, I. 241.

[50] *Ibid.*

[51] Pinckney to the Sec. of State, Aug. 28, 1793, *ibid.*

[52] A copy is enclosed in Pinckney's despatch of Jan. 28, 1794, Despatches, Eng., III.

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conciliatory terms in which it had been written.[53] Thus the matter was kept in a train of innocuous legal argument while the work of the cruisers went on unmolested. A second Order in Council, November 6,[54] of even more unjustifiable nature, applied the Rule of 1756 to American trade with the French colonies, even though a part of the trade had been open before the war. The possibility of this order arousing a dangerous hostility in the United States led to its revocation on January 8, 1794,[55] at which time Great Britain reverted to the principle of the much protested order of June 8. That is, she claimed the right of capture of enemy property on neutral decks, and pre-emption as contraband of foodstuffs bound for Continental France—but allowed immunity to American ships trading with the French West India Islands, except in "naval or military stores" or to a blockaded port.[56] While Pinckney expressed gratification to Grenville at the comparative moderation of the latest order, he was careful not to admit its legality.[57] This question of neutral rights, which had meanwhile helped to produce a war crisis in America, soon passed out of Pinckney's hand when John Jay arrived in England in June, 1794. Pinckney therefore cannot be said to have had much to do, aside from the mere function of a reporter, with the famous controversy over the Orders in Council.[58]

In an interview with Grenville in November, 1793, Pinckney ventured to take up the question of British occupation of American posts on the northern frontier, a subject not delegated to him as one of his duties. The discussion of this, which had been absorbed into the general arguments over the treaty of peace between Hammond and

[53] Grenville to Hammond, Jan. 11, 1794, F.O. 5: 4.

[54] "That they shall stop and detain all ships laden with goods the produce of any colony belonging to France, or carrying provisions or other supplies for the use of any such colony, and shall bring the same, with their cargoes, to legal adjudication in our courts of admiralty". *A.S.P., F.R.*, I. 430.

[55] Pinckney to the Sec. of State, Jan. 28, 1794, Despatches, Eng., III. J. B. Burges, under-secretary, records in his Foreign Office journal, under date of Dec. 28, 1793, "Mr. Pinckney called; much agitated in consequence of the new instruction to commanders of ships of war and privateers—very anxious to know whether it would be rigorously enforced—insisted strongly on the injustice of such a measure, and on the destructive consequences it must entail on his country, which now would be deprived of every means of exporting its produce, as the Act of Navigation shut them out from our islands, and this new instruction would equally shut them out from those of France; so that nothing but a few inconsiderable markets would be left to them." *Dropmore Papers*, II. 488.

[56] For text of order see *A.S.P., F.R.*, I. 431.

[57] Pinckney to the Sec. of State, Jan. 7, 1794, Despatches, Eng., III.

[58] For a good statement of this controversy see Mahan, *Sea Power and the War of 1812*, I., ch. II.

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Jefferson, had been in abeyance for over a year and a half. Pinckney now asked Grenville outright whether the posts would be evacuated if the United States fulfilled the treaty of peace. He thus gave an opening which previously had not been presented, because of Jefferson's masterly denial that the United States had ever violated the treaty except when some of the states had been driven to reprisals by previous British violations.[59] Grenville immediately answered that where one party to a treaty had deferred fulfillment of its obligations for some years, whereby complete execution could not afterwards be had, neither reason nor the law of nations could expect a strict compliance from the other party. Pinckney interpreted this as refusal ever to give up the posts. His despatch recording this conversation, when delivered to Congress, made a painful impression, that added to the crisis of March, 1794. In a private letter the impressionable Southerner wrote to Jefferson that he considered war pretty certain and asked the secretary about removing with his family to France, for the sake of his children's education, when hostilities should break out.[60]

War in fact did nearly occur between the United States and England in 1794, but not as a result of the above interview. The trouble was due to a combination of the frontier grievance, sharpened by the hostile conduct of Canadian frontier officials of the crown, and the violations of international law occasioned by the Caribbean captures under the Order in Council of November 6. This crisis was met, and war was averted, by Jay's well-known mission of 1794. Pinckney's feelings about the possible significance of Jay's presence in relation to his own diplomatic ability were not pleasant, but he loyally submitted to the superseding of his more important functions.[61]

It seems clear that Pinckney was recognized in London as distinctly less disposed than Jay to make concessions to Great Britain. Count Woronzow, the Russian ambassador, after a talk with Gouverneur Morris in June, 1795, reports to Grenville that Morris "n'est pas dans les principes de Pinkney [*sic*], mais bien dans ceux de Monsieur Jay", and Burges, under-secretary, speaks, or reports Morris as speaking, to the same effect.[62]

[59] *A.S.P., F.R.*, I. 201.

[60] Pinckney to Jefferson, Nov. 27, 1793, Despatches, Eng., III. His wife died in 1794; Pinckney's *Pinckney*, p. 144.

[61] Same to same, June 23, 1794, Despatches, Eng., III., quoted by Trescot, p. 106. Almost identical language is to be found in a letter to his brother, C. C. Pinckney, in Pinckney's *Pinckney*, p. 123.

[62] *Dropmore Papers*, III. 78, 87—that "Mr. Jay must now be arrived [in America], and would be able to do away the very unfavourable impressions which had been made, and were still making, by Pinckney and Deas."

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Pinckney seems to have been consulted by Jay during the negotiation and to have been kept generally abreast of its progress. His despatches on this subject are meagre. He wrote in 1796 that, while Jay had advised with him throughout the negotiation, he himself had not been present at any of the conferences with Grenville and could not share either the merits or the demerits of the treaty.[63] He appreciated, as a just reward for judicious and patriotic conduct during the Jay negotiations,[64] the appointment as a special plenipotentiary to Spain, where he similarly supplanted the ordinary functions of the resident minister, Short.

Pinckney was the vehicle, in April, 1794, before the arrival of Jay, through which the Swedish minister at London conveyed to the United States the famous invitation of Sweden to join the abortive Scandinavian armed neutrality of 1794, a combination repelled by Washington at Hamilton's advice as an "entangling" alliance.[65] That the American minister did not share the confidence of his government in its decision on this question is indicated by a despatch from London in 1796, which complains that he had not received a "syllable in reply" to this celebrated proposal.[66]

Another outstanding feature of Pinckney's mission, one of more popular interest to-day, was his connection with Washington's attempt to secure the release of Lafayette from a Prussian prison. Ever since the publication of John Marshall's *Life of Washington* it has been known that the President, acting as a private individual and the friend and military comrade of General Lafayette, tried in vain to induce the King of Prussia to liberate the illustrious and lovable friend of America on condition of his going to the United States. A good many scattered sources suggest that this is a subject worthy of more extended treatment than the limits of this paper allow. A brief summary of Pinckney's relation to it is sufficient here.

At the time of his voluntary "capture" by the Austrian forces in August, 1792, Lafayette was given the treatment of a prisoner of state instead of an émigré, because he very nobly refused to lead an army of invasion under foreign flags into his beloved France.[67] Through Gouverneur Morris, American minister at Paris, and William Short, our resident at the Hague, and through the marquis's brother-in-law, the Vicomte de Noailles, who reached America via London, he importuned Washington to use his influence to get him

[63] Pinckney to Jefferson, Feb. 26, 1796, Despatches, Eng., III.

[64] Same to same, Feb. 23, 1795, *ibid.*

[65] *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIV. 44.

[66] Pinckney to the Sec. of State, Mar. 7, 1796, Despatches, Eng., III.

[67] B. Tuckerman, *Life of Lafayette*, II. 87 ff.

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out on condition of his going to America.[68] Similar requests came from Madame de Lafayette,[69] who was later permitted by the Emperor to join her husband in prison. Reluctance to mix either in the political complications of Europe or in the internal convulsions of France, particularly during the existing delicate posture of Franco-American affairs, caused Washington to accept the advice of his agents abroad not to make the matter a subject of formal diplomatic intervention. The predicament of the "unfortunate Lafayette" aroused the sympathy of all patriotic Americans, particularly of his former companions in arms, of whom there was none more affectionate than Washington himself. The pay which Lafayette as an American general had declined to receive was now taken out of the treasury by executive action and placed at his disposal, an act later reinforced by Congressional legislation.[70] Washington determined "as a private citizen" to do his utmost to free Lafayette. Pinckney was the agent to whom the direction of this matter was intrusted. Already Pinckney had "unofficially and expressly in his private capacity" applied to the Prussian minister at London to learn the intentions of the court of Berlin. Gratitude for Lafayette's past services, he assured, would impel the United States to adopt any honorable proceeding to procure permission for the general to go to America. These applications, as well as others by Lafayette's friends, though duly reported to Berlin, all failed. Pinckney then turned to England. Directly after the revocation in January of the order of November 6, when Pinckney imagined it might be agreeable to the British government to confer an obligation on the United States, he requested Grenville to use his influence with an ally in favor of Lafayette. This Grenville politely declined to do.[71] Despairing of success by this sort of informal proceeding, Pinckney countenanced the efforts of Lafayette's friend to effect his escape, as the most likely way to get anything done.[72]

After the subject had been officially and formally sanctioned by a cabinet meeting, it was decided that the President should unofficially and informally undertake a personal intercession with the King of

[68] Short to Morris, the Hague, Sept. 7, 1792, *A.S.P., F.R.*, I. 341; Pinckney to Washington, Pinckney's *Pinckney*, p. 116.

[69] *Writings* of Washington (ed. Ford), XII. 261; *Writings* of Jefferson, VII. 264.

[70] Hamilton to Randolph, May 31, 1794, enclosed in Randolph to Pinckney, June 8, 1794, Instructions to U. S. Ministers, II. 99. The amount made payable to Lafayette by the act of Mar. 27, 1794, was 60,449 guilders.

[71] Pinckney to the Sec. of State, Jan. 10, 1794, Despatches, Eng., III.

[72] Same to same, Feb. 28, 1794, *ibid.*

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Prussia for Lafayette's release.[73] An informal letter was therefore written by General Washington to that monarch, in "the language of a private gentleman untinctured by the most distant recollection of his being the President".[74] The direction of the business was given to Pinckney, and James M. Marshall of Virginia, brother of the future chief justice, was selected as the confidential agent to undertake the journey to Prussia. Marshall left London for the Continent in the spring of 1794. In April he met Prince Henry of Prussia at Rheinsberg. Henry was a friend of Lafayette, and apparently willing to further the project with his nephew the king. But the opposition of the Prussian ministry could not be broken down. When Marshall reached Berlin, bearing letters from Henry to the king, he was informed that the illustrious political prisoner had already been transferred to Austria. He returned to London unsuccessful.[75]

In December, 1794, Pinckney reported that Lafayette had escaped from Olmütz,[76] his Austrian prison, but had been recaptured. He advised that a power be lodged with some American minister in Europe to secure the famous soldier's liberation, for fear that a European peace might leave him in prison for want of somebody to request his release.[77]

In 1796 Washington considered interposition as a private individual by appeal to the good graces of the Austrian emperor. He sent to Pinckney a personal letter to the Emperor to be presented to the Austrian minister at London should the right occasion arise.[78] But Pinckney had already terminated his diplomatic career before this instruction could be fully acted on. If indeed it was ever sent to Austria, the letter was not answered.[79] Despite the efforts of his

[73] Randolph to Pinckney, Jan. 16, 1794, Instructions to U. S. Ministers, II. 56–59. For cabinet meeting sanctioning this step, Hamilton, *Works* (ed. J. C. Hamilton), IV. 505.

[74] Pinckney to Mr. Marshall, Mar. 23, 1794, State Dept., Despatches, Eng., IV. 274–288. See A. J. Beveridge, *John Marshall*, II. 33.

[75] James Marshall to Pinckney, June —, 1794, Despatches, Eng., III.

[76] The well-known attempt of Bollman and Huger. See Tuckerman's *Life of General Lafayette*, II.; the sources are printed out of the Vienna archives in Max Büdinger, "Lafayette in Oesterreich", in vol. XCII. of the *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna, 1878).

[77] Pinckney to the Sec. of State, Dec. 10, 1794, Despatches, Eng., III.

[78] Washington to the Emperor, Philadelphia, May 15, 1796, Pinckney's *Pinckney*, p. 119; see also Washington's letter to Pinckney, Feb. 20, 1796, *ibid.*, p. 117.

[79] The best account of Lafayette's imprisonment in Austria, and its political effects, is Max Büdinger's "Lafayette in Oesterreich", *supra*, which presents a detailed study based on documents in the Vienna archives. Büdinger states that Washington's letter was not answered, but does not indicate absolutely that it was ever received.

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American friends Lafayette languished a prisoner until Bonaparte's Italian campaign unlocked the doors of Olmütz.

On his return from Madrid, where his most notable diplomatic work was done, Pinckney stayed only a short while in London. On the completion of the Spanish negotiations he had asked the President to be recalled from the service.[80] After his return to America he is remembered as the unsuccessful Federalist candidate for the vice-presidency in 1796 and as a member of Congress from 1797 to 1801. He then settled down to a long life full of respect and action in his native state of South Carolina and in the southern campaigns of the War of 1812. He lived long enough finally to meet Lafayette on the occasion of the memorable visit to the United States in 1825.

Pinckney's reputation as a diplomatist comes chiefly from the Treaty of San Lorenzo with Spain, which does not concern the subject of this paper. Aside from that one treaty his diplomatic career is not of major importance. But as illustrating the early years of Anglo-American relations, particularly the development of the vexing question of impressment and the attitude of Washington's administration toward it, the London mission is well worth the attention of the American historian.

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

[80] For letter requesting recall, see *Writings* of Washington (ed. Ford), XIII. 169.

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HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN RUSSIA DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS[1]

THE revolutionary storm and the economic disorganization following in its wake have undoubtedly placed enormous obstacles in the way of undisturbed and systematic historical research, both as regards the distant and the recent past of Russia. Much of the work already completed had to be pigeonholed because of the impossibility of publication. A great deal that had already been started had to be left unfinished. And such work as has been resumed is progressing slowly, by fits and starts, with the chances for publication in the near future very slight.

The disruption of normal communication, not only internationally, but within the country itself, has been another enormous impediment to a larger and more fruitful development of scientific enterprise. For a number of years past Russia has been almost totally isolated from the European book market. Russian scientists are almost entirely deprived of the opportunity to watch the progress of scientific thought and recent research in the West, and, especially, to obtain the literature published abroad, in Russian or in foreign languages, concerning Russian problems. It is, however, almost as difficult to have publications brought into normal circulation within the country itself. The few books that are published in Kiev, Odessa, Kazan, Kharkov, or Siberia, are only rarely and accidentally to be obtained in stray copies by the inhabitants of Petrograd. Even between Moscow and Petrograd the book traffic is only of a sporadic and accidental character. And, to aggravate all these difficulties, the cost of books is soaring to exorbitant heights, so that they have now actually become articles of luxury.

Nevertheless, work is being done even under these discouraging conditions, and interesting and valuable results are being obtained. In essaying to give a necessarily brief outline of these results, it is but natural that we dwell, first of all, on the new things that have been brought to light in historical research, under the influence of the utter collapse of the old political order and of the revolutionary reconstruction affecting every phase of the national life. These "new things" are of a great variety. In part, they have resulted from the sweeping changes that have occurred in the purely external

[1] Prepared for the *Review* by Professor A. Presniakov, and translated by Mr. E. Aronsberg.

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conditions of work, and in part from the changed trend of interest and thought.

The change in external conditions has brought about an acute crisis in the whole structure of the Russian archival system. First of all, the revolutionary storm has played havoc with the peaceful repositories themselves. In the elemental tide of the revolutionary movement there have been moments when the wrath of the mob was directed against the archives and records of particularly hateful institutions. The reader will recall, for instance, the sacking of the Police Department, the burning of the Circuit Court, and similar incidents in Petrograd. Far more dangerous, however, to the safety of the archival treasures than such isolated outbreaks, has been the fact that the new authorities viewed these treasures with absolute indifference or even suspicious prejudice. In their view, the governmental archives appeared as the repositories of the hateful traditions of the old political and social order, which therefore did not deserve to be saved from destruction; nay, more, they should really be done away with, in so far as they were liable to serve as a documentary basis in case of a reactionary restoration.

Entire archives were sent to the pulp-mills, in view of the paper shortage, or else they were neglected, without any protection, as if they were nothing but useless junk. The danger of such an attitude became especially significant because of the complete reorganization of all the government departments. The abolition of a great many of them, the creation of new ones, their hasty reorganization accompanied by frequent removals of institutions from one building to another, the transfer of the capital from Petrograd to Moscow, with its attendant removal of a part of the archives—all this hasty, feverish breaking up and building anew, seriously affected the fate of the archives. Their contents were frequently thrown out only because some new occupants had to take possession of the building, and those volumes of documents seemed to them to be uselessly encumbering shelves, lockers, and rooms that could be used for different purposes.

At last, however, the historians and archivists of Petrograd, and later also of Moscow, were enabled to combat these detrimental influences, thanks to the organization of the Main Administration of Archives (*Glavnoie Arkhivnoie Upravlenie*), whose headquarters were at first in Petrograd, but later transferred to Moscow. The organization of this administration was headed by one of the prominent revolutionary leaders, David Riazanov (Goldendach), the well-known editor of the posthumous publicistic works of Karl Marx and Engels. After Riazanov had withdrawn from this work in order to devote

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himself entirely to his Socialist Academy, the organization of the archives was intrusted to the academician Sergius Platonov, who had worked from the very beginning hand in hand with Riazanov in the reform of the administration of archives, having been delegated for that purpose by the University of Petrograd; in Moscow the work was placed in charge of the Marxist historian, Michael Pokrovski, assisted by Matvei Liubavski, professor of Russian history.

The combination of all these circumstances has tended to turn the question of the custody, care, and preservation of archives into a sweeping reform of the whole system. The archives of the old ministries and other government and public institutions were found to have been abandoned without any supervision after the abolition of the former bureaucratic régime. The consolidation of the administration of these archives under a special department then became a matter of course. A consequent centralization of archives was bound inevitably to grow out of the ruins of the old system, which had split up its archives among the various departments. The revolutionary government, in undertaking the task of building a new statehood, came to recognize that the proper care of archives was an important part of the duties of government. The decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of June 1, 1918, recognizes the archives of all government and public institutions (both extant and abolished) as integral parts of one Consolidated Government Archive (*Yediny Gosudarstvenny Arkhivny Fond*). The Main Administration of Archives in Moscow, its branch in Petrograd, and the provincial archives throughout Russia became organs of this new institution. At first it was incorporated as a part of the Commissariat of Public Instruction; afterwards, however, it was placed under the direct control of the government, as represented by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. The same plan has been followed in the case of the archives of the Ukraine, their central administration being located in Kharkov.

This formal reorganization has been accompanied in the past few years by untiring efforts to seek out the scattered archives, to find new buildings for them, and to classify, index, and catalogue them. The collapse of the old social order left on the hands of the Main Administration of Archives a number of private collections that were abandoned by their owners in their city dwellings or estates. The custody and utilization of these materials have been concentrated in the hands of a special Section of Private Archives (*Otdielenie Chastnykh Arkhivov*) in Petrograd and Moscow.

An identical revolutionary upheaval has affected, with identical results, the material monuments of Russian historical culture, such

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as buildings, works of art, and antiquities. To care for these objects, a Division for the Protection of Monuments of Art and Antiquity (*Otdiel Okhrany Pamiatnikov Iskustva i Stariny*) and a Main Administration of Museums were created. The study of these monuments has been concentrated in an Academy of the History of Material Culture (*Akademia Istorii Materialnoi Kultury*)—a large institution which has grown out of the former Archaeological Commission and which embraces all archaeological forces in both capitals. The work of this institution has brought up the question of preparing, theoretically as well as practically, younger forces for archivistic and archaeological museum activities. This task has been taken up chiefly by the Petrograd Archaeological Institute, which has further extended the range of its activities by apportioning the work among two departments (faculties)—Archaeographic and Archaeologic. This institute has now been incorporated as a special "section" or department of the University.

To return to the archives. There is that old saying that "every cloud has its silver lining". The vicissitudes that have befallen and are still besetting the archives of Russia have, it is true, caused many irreparable losses to science, through the destruction of considerable numbers of valuable documents. At the same time, however, these very trials have infused new life into the archives, stirring them up from their former bureaucratic, departmental drowsiness, and leading to a more rational organization of the whole system. These vicissitudes have helped in bringing to light and making possible the study of numerous materials of every description that had been lying hidden away under the dust only too long. The re-examination of all these materials in the archives, which was inevitable under these circumstances, has frequently led to entirely unexpected discoveries of valuable sources relating to different periods of Russian history. As an example, I mention the newly discovered documents throwing light on the period of Peter the Great's immediate successors, as, for instance, the case of Prince Alexander Menshikov (published in the interesting series of studies by V. Nechaiev); of Catherine II. (her papers relating to the history of the famous "Nakaz"); Alexander I. (documents dealing with the question of the succession); Nicholas I. (archives of Baron Korff and Field-Marshal Paskevich); also private archives, such as the collection of letters and papers of the famous chemist, Mendeleiev, the collection of notes of Dmitri Miliutin, minister of war under Alexander II. (published at Kostroma), memoirs and letters of various noted statesmen of the recent past,

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such as the diary of the Minister of War Sukhomlinov, the very peculiar diary of Nicholas II., etc.

The re-grouping of the archives has led to the establishment of a special Historico-Economic Archive in Petrograd, which was suggested by the great interest taken in the economic and social histories published by the Archive of the History of Labor in Russia (*Arkhiv Istorii Truda v Rossii*), devoted to the history of the working class and peasantry in imperial Russia. Thus far, four issues have appeared.

The archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have been almost entirely removed from Petrograd to Moscow. Naturally enough, the greatest amount of interest attaches to documents of the very recent past, chiefly relating to current political interests. Since the first hasty publication of the so-called "secret treaties" in 1918, the business of publishing diplomatic correspondence has acquired a more systematic and scientific character under the experienced direction of the historian Michael Pokrovski. He has published a large volume entitled "Materials on the History of Franco-Russian Relations during 1910–1914; Collection of Secret Diplomatic Documents of the Former Imperial Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs" (Moscow, 1922). He then started the publication of documents relating to the history of Russian military policy, in periodical issues of the "Red Archive" (*Krasny Arkhiv*), the first volume of which contains a number of valuable documents bearing on the history of this policy in the Near East, beginning with the Convention of 1873.

Particular energy has been displayed in the study and publication, in connection with the general revolutionary situation, of all available materials on the history of the revolutionary movement in Russia. The Soviet government has created a Commission for the Collection and Study of Materials on the October Revolution and on the History of the Russian Communist Party (by decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of September 25, 1920), which is better known by its abbreviated name as the *Istpart*. It has branches in various cities and publishes, aside from separate books and pamphlets, the "Historical Journal of the Istpart" and the "Proletarian Revolution" (*Istoricheski Journal Istparta* and *Proletarskaia Revolutsia*). It also publishes documents, letters, and memoirs which the Istpart not only discovers, but also brings into existence, by encouraging revolutionary leaders to write them.

Independently of the Istpart, and before it had been created, there was established in Petrograd, with a branch in Moscow, an Historico-Revolutionary Archive (*Istoriko-Revolutsionny Arkhiv*), having as

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its basis the rich archive of the former Police Department, with its model collection of materials on the study of the revolutionary movement in Russia, such as card indexes, photographic collections, catalogues, indexes, etc. Although somewhat affected by the riots of the first days of the Revolution, it has remained substantially intact, owing to prompt measures of protection and transfer to new quarters.

A number of scientific and revolutionary workers are engaged, under the direction of the historian Paul Shchegolev, in working out this material, and publishing, as far as possible, the results, which often are of considerable interest. The Historico-Revolutionary Archive publishes its own journal, the "Red Chronicle" (*Krasnaia Letopis*), whose first volume is entirely devoted to the events of January 9, 1905, regarded as the day when the Russian Revolution was born in that bloody encounter between the people and the autocracy.

Of prerevolutionary periodicals there remains *Byloie* ("The Past"), edited now by Paul Shchegolev, and devoted specifically to the study of the history of the revolutionary movement in Russia (founded in 1906–1907, ceased publication, and resumed again in the summer of 1917). Publication is also continued of the Moscow *Golos Minuvshavo* ("Voice of the Past"), appearing since 1913. Publication of the "Russian Historical Journal", started as a private enterprise by a group of scholars in 1917, has been taken over by the Academy of Sciences, which has in the course of the past few years published volumes V.–VIII. The Academy has also undertaken the publication of a new periodical devoted to world history, "The Annals", the first issue of which, under the editorship of the academician Fedor Uspenski and Professor Eugene Tarle, promises genuine scientific interest.

To carry out all these undertakings, enormous technical and material difficulties have to be mastered. There can be no doubt that our publishing activities lag far behind the actual need for publications giving the results of current scientific work. Most of the former well-established publications have gone out of existence, while those which are already partly printed have to wait for an opportunity to see final publication. This state of affairs, for obvious reasons, is very hard for younger scholars whose works are all ready for the printer, yet cannot be published. The need for intercourse among men of science and for the published results of their special research work is so great that there has been a growing tendency to hold meetings at which reports are read and discussed, such as the

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"Wednesdays" of the Academy of History of Material Culture, public meetings in the Hermitage, at the Historical Institute of the University of Petrograd, the Archaeological and Genealogical societies, the Society of Friends of Antique Letters, and others.

One attempt after another is being made to revive scientific publications, as, for instance, the historical journal, *Diela i Dni* ("Events and Days"), the "Bulletins" of the Russian Academy of History of Material Culture, the "Almanac" of the Russian Institute of the History of Art, the collected works of the State Hermitage, etc. The Russian Archaeological Society has stopped for the present at its bulky volume XXIV. of the "Notes" of its Eastern Division.

Of materials awaiting their chance to be printed there are vast numbers. The printing, however, is being done in such a manner that a group of the members of the Academy of History of Material Culture decided to learn typographical composition, and are themselves working at setting up the publications of the Academy under the direction of one of its secretaries, Professor Orbeli. In addition to its "Bulletins", the Academy has issued a collection of Japhetological essays by the academician Marr, and a collection of works on numismatics.

Still more formidable are the obstacles to publication of larger works. Even the revival of private publishing enterprise fails to relieve the situation. Most of the demands on the book market are for popular works, general essays, and school-books. Dissertations are read in the universities from manuscript or typewritten copy.

This explains why so few works of a specifically scientific nature have appeared in recent years. Research, however, has in some fields been undertaken on a very broad scale. So, for example, the Academy of Sciences has begun an extensive study of the natural productive resources of Russia, and, in a field nearer to the interests of historical science, of the racial elements of the population of Russia. The ethnographic research and its results are closely linked with the work of studying Russian colonization of the past as well as its contemporary aspects. Parallel with this work under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences, the Russian Geographical Society has created—in response to the great interest betrayed in the northern territories, which at one time used to play an essential part in the economic life of Russia, but fell later into decline, notwithstanding the wealth of the local natural resources—a special "Committee of the North", which has commenced publication of a series of papers entitled "Sketches on the History of the Colonization of the North" (*Ocherki po Istorii Kolonizacii Severa*). The value and the fresh-

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ness of the scientific observations in these writings spring not only from historical research in documentary sources, but also from the results of a number of so-called "northern colonization expeditions". The historical study of colonization is being carried on under the direction of the academician S. Platonov, whose own essays on the history of the Russian North occupy a prominent place in these "Sketches". This study of the North is only a particularly conspicuous demonstration of the general revival of interest in the so-called "territorial study" (*Kraievedenie*), *i.e.*, the historical, economic, and ethnographic study of separate localities and entire territories. Enthusiastic and successful work in this direction is being done by a number of "Societies for the Study of Local Territory", both old and new ones, united, for the sake of a common plan in their research work, as well as for the dissemination of their results, under the general direction of the Academy of Sciences, one of whose learned commissions is from time to time discussing the reports sent in by the delegates of the local societies.

Without entering upon specific bibliography, it is difficult to describe the work that is being done, finished and unfinished, individually, by single scholars. It would be unsuitable to mention works that are completed, but cannot yet be published because of the generally unfavorable conditions already mentioned, and indeed information about such works is only casual and incomplete. One must confine himself to a review of that little which has in the course of the past few years been actually published, and which represents one or another kind of general interest, tending to show the general trend of the work. The academician S. Platonov has published a book *Boris Godunov,* a general outline of the life and activities of that ruler, whose tragic fate has for a long time been a subject of study with the author. This outline has evoked great interest, both for its masterly exposition and scientific freshness of treatment of certain questions, particularly in the domain of Russia's foreign relations at that period, and also for its treatment of that most complicated of all problems of Russian social history—the origin of the serfdom of the peasantry. Professor Paul Smirnov, of the University of Kiev, has published two volumes of his excellent study of the "Cities of the Muscovite State in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century", thereby considerably enriching the rather meagre Russian literature dealing with the history of the cities. Not all of this work has yet appeared; in the parts which have been brought out thus far, the forms of land ownership in the cities and the numbers and movements of the population have been studied; the history of the com-

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position and organization of the city populations belongs to that part of the work which is still awaiting publication. Another Kiev scientist, E. Stashevski, has also managed to publish only a part of a large work entitled "The Smolensk War of 1632–1634". Fortuitous circumstances prevented the completion of the printing of the first part of the work, devoted to a critique of the sources and an analysis of the conditions leading up to the outbreak of this war, so that the second part had to be published first, dealing with the organization of the military resources of the Muscovite state during the beginning of its fundamental reconstruction. The Moscow historian, Michael Bogoslovski, has undertaken to publish a monumental biography of Peter the Great, in four volumes, an attempt to furnish a complete *res gestae* of his life and work, based upon published and, still more, unpublished sources from the archives. George (Yuri) Gautier, professor at Moscow, has completed a large work on the territorial administration in Russia during the eighteenth century (the first volume appeared in 1913), but finding it impossible to get this work printed he has turned it over in the form of transcripts to the libraries of Petrograd—that of the Academy of Sciences and the Public Library. At Nezhin, Professor G. Maksimovich is publishing an extensive work on the study of "Elections and Mandates in Little Russia for the Legislative Commission of 1767" (*Vybory i Nakazy v Malorossii v Zakonodatelnuiu Kommissiiu 1767*), of which there have thus far been issued part I., studying the organization and progress of the elections and the making of the mandates, and part II., which analyzes the contents of these mandates and the state of social relationships reflected by them. I. Stratonov of Kazan and S. Yushkov of Saratov have contributed some short but important essays on the oldest monument of Russian law—the *Russkaia Pravda*—the former having studied the origin of its oldest form, that of Novgorod under Yaroslav, and the latter its later form, as represented by the collected works on jurisprudence at the close of the twelfth century in Kiev. The Archaeographical Commission has published the work of A. Presniakov, the "Formation of the Great Russian State" (*Obrazovanie Velikorusskavo Gosudarstva*). To the same author belongs also the general outline, "The Muscovite Tsardom" (*Moskovskoie Tsarstvo*).

A number of publications of source materials (annals, monuments of the literature of the "Old Believers", official acts) ready for publication and even printed by the Archaeographical Commission are held up on account of insurmountable material obstacles. In the near future there is to appear a large volume of the "Collection of

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Documents of the Economic College" (*Sbornik Gramot Kollegii Ekonomii*), published by the Academy of Sciences, representing the finished work of many years, by a group of young savants, according to the plan and under the direction of the late academician A. Lappo-Danilevski. As a posthumous publication, the work of this scholar, "Outline of Russian Diplomatics of Civil Acts" (*Ocherk Russkoi Diplomatiki Chastnykh Aktov*) has been brought out. The "Russian Book Chamber" (*Rossiskaia Knizhnaia Palata*), a new institution which has recently been transformed into a "Bibliological Institute", is engaged in extensive bibliographical work, resulting thus far in the publication of an "Index of Periodicals" (*Spiski Povremennykh Izdanij*) for 1917 and 1918, edited by L. Ilinski. Library matters are concentrated in a new organization, the Section for the Administration of the Libraries of the State (*Otdiel Upravlenia Gosudarstvennymi Bibliotekami*), attached to the Commissariat of Public Instruction, and a special organ is published, "The Library Review" (*Bibliotechnoie Obozrenie*), devoted to library problems in Russia and abroad. The "Collected Works of the Russian Public Library" (*Sbornik Rossiskoi Publichnoi Biblioteki*), a periodical publication, gives information about the acquisitions and progress of the work of this treasury of books. The examination of the materials contained in the Censorship Archives has made possible the publication of several new texts of the writings of Venevitinov, Gogol, and Turgenev, which had been buried in their own day by the censor. These, as well as a number of documents showing the vicissitudes of Russian writers under the censorship, have appeared in the collection "The Literary Museum" (*Literaturny Museum*), edited by A. Nikolaiev and U. Ochsman. The "Archive of Public Instruction" (*Arkhiv Narodnavo Prosveshchenia*) published in commemoration of the centennial of the University of Petrograd, in 1919, a large volume of "Materials on the History of the University of St. Petersburg, volume I., 1819–1835".

This cursory and incomplete review of some of the results of historical work in recent years permits us, nevertheless, to say that it is proceeding, not without some vigor, in a constant struggle against the exceedingly difficult material and technical conditions of this epoch, when the entire national life of Russia is passing through a crisis.

A. PRESNIAKOV.

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NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

Religious Freedom in Provincial Maryland

In volume XLI. of the *Archives of Maryland,* which has been recently published and which contains the Proceedings of the Provincial Court from 1658 to 1662, there occurs a rather important decision on religious matters. The matter of religious freedom in the province has received so much discussion that it is worth while to call especial attention to the court's act.

The General Assembly, which was a mass meeting of the freemen, in March, 1638/9, passed a law which stated that "Holy Church within this Province shall have all her rights, liberties and immunities, safe, whole, and inviolable in all things" (*Md. Arch., Ass.,* I. 40). This is probably an echo of a similar phrase in Magna Charta. Bozman (*History of Maryland,* II. 107) thought this looked toward an establishment of the Roman Catholic Church, but Bradley T. Johnson (Md. Hist. Society *Fund Publications,* no. 18, p. 2) took a more probable view that the assembly meant "that the Christian Church should be free from unlawful interference by any temporal power whatever" and that the provision was a "guaranty of liberty of conscience to all Christian people in Maryland".

Ten years later, in April, 1649, the famous Act concerning Religion was passed. The earlier portion of the act (*Md. Arch., Ass.,* I. 244) pronounced a heavy penalty upon any one who should "blaspheme God, that is curse him, or deny our Saviour Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, or shall deny the holy Trinity: the Father, Son and Holy Ghost". The second portion of the statute decreed that no person "professing to believe in Jesus Christ shall from henceforth be anyways troubled, molested, or discountenanced for or in respect of his or her religion, nor in the free exercise thereof", provided that he does not "conspire against the Civil Government". (On the discussion over this act see Steiner, *Maryland during the English Civil Wars,* part II., p. 114.)

On October 5, 1658, the attorney general of the province laid an information against Rev. Francis Fitzherbert, S. J. (who came into Maryland in 1654, Md. Hist. Soc. *Fund Pubs.,* no. 7, p. 90) "for practising of treason and sedition" (*Md. Arch., Prov. Ct.,* XLI. 144–146). From the evidence, the charge appears to have been made, largely, because of very vigorous attempts made by Fitzherbert to

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proselyte the people of southern Maryland who were Protestants. The case did not come up for trial until June 5, 1662, when the Provincial Court consisted of Governor Philip Calvert, Henry Sewall, the secretary, Robert Clarke, Baker Brooke, and John Bateman. Father Fitzherbert "demurred in law" to the information and his demurrer is a remarkable statement as to the breadth of meaning claimed for the two acts of the assembly to which reference has just been made (*Md. Arch., Prov. Ct.*, XLI. 566).

1. Neither denying or Confessing the matter here objected Since by the very first Lawe of this Country Holy Church within this Province shall have and Enjoye all her Rights libertyes and Franchises wholy and without Blemish, amongst which that of preacheing and teacheing is not the leaste, neither imports itt what Church is there meant, since by the true intent of the Act Concerning Religion every Church professing to beleive in God the father Sonne and holy Ghoste is accounted Holy Church here.

2dly Because by the Acte entituled an Act concerning Religion It is provided that noe person whatsoever professing to beleive in Jesus Christ shall be molested for or in Respect of his or her Religion or the free Exercise thereof, and undoubtedly preacheing and teacheing is the free Exercise of every Churchmans Religion and upon this I crave Judgem't.

The court allowed the demurrer and thus officially approved the interpretation of the acts given by the defendant. Unfortunately, a few lines which gave the conclusion of the court's decision are lost at the foot of the sheet; but enough is left us to prove that the highest judicial tribunal of the province interpreted the words of the statutes as broadly and liberally as possible.

BERNARD C. STEINER.

THE UNIVERSITY CENTRE FOR RESEARCH IN WASHINGTON

TWENTY-ONE years ago a member of the Executive Council of the American Historical Association proposed to that body the establishment of a centre of historical research in Washington for university students, organized somewhat after the manner of the American Schools of Classical Studies in Athens and Rome, to which students of American history working on theses, or others, might come with a view to availing themselves of the advantages presented by the national capital, for archival study or for political observation, under the guidance of qualified teachers released from the sustaining universities, in rotation, on leaves of absence. For a time, the establishment of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington pushed the project into the background;

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but that institution, from the beginning, left educational work out of its programme. The thought of a university centre for historical researches in Washington was not however lost from sight, was definitely revived some seven years ago, put under consideration by a committee, and reported upon at a meeting of the Historical Association at Cincinnati in December, 1916. In 1921, by combined effort of persons interested in each of the social or historical sciences, among whom history was represented by Mr. W. G. Leland, an actual organization was effected, and a University Centre for Research in Washington became a reality. Its articles of organization, the list of its Board of Research Advisers, and an announcement respecting its scope and purpose, its opportunities and regulations, were printed in the *Educational Record* of January, 1922.[1]

Meanwhile the resources and advantages of Washington for historical, economic, and political study have in twenty years enormously increased, partly by reason of the growth of the country, partly by reason of that increase in the use of specialized intelligence in the executive work of the government which has been effected through the successful efforts of three appreciative Presidents—Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson. It is believed that neither many students nor many professors are fully aware of the opportunities of this nature which Washington presents. For purposes of American history, in the period since 1775 at any rate, the printed matter in the Library of Congress much surpasses all other collections. Its Manuscripts Division contains not only the papers of the Continental Congress and those of nearly all the Presidents, from Washington to Taft, but an astounding quantity and variety of other historical material, to which notable additions are made every month. Few persons have any notion, for instance, of the extent of its body of transcripts from the British archives. Elsewhere, in the libraries of the executive departments, at the Bureau of Railway Economics, at the office of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and in several similar establishments, large special collections are to be found, readily available for the student's use, while despite the drawbacks and inconveniences which are inflicted by the absence of a national archive building, archives of great magnitude and interest exist, scattered among bureaus and offices whose officials can almost always be relied upon to help students to as great an extent as the local circumstances permit.

[1] Reprints of this article of explanation can be obtained from the Director of the American Council on Education, 26 Jackson Place, who is Secretary of the Board of Research Advisers. That is also the office to which general inquiries should be addressed.

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To those who enjoy these advantages and opportunities by reason of professional residence in Washington, it is a matter of perpetual astonishment that they are not more largely used by students training themselves for professional work; indeed, quite apart from the facilities available upon the student's special topic, every student of American history would surely be greatly benefited by a period of residence in the political atmosphere of the national capital. At all events, it is well that students and their teachers should know of the existence of the University Centre for Research in Washington, of its nature and its possibilities for help.

The control of the institution resides in the Board of Research Advisers, which at present consists of Dr. Leo S. Rowe, president, the Director of the American Council on Education, secretary, and Messrs. Edward Breck, Winthrop M. Daniels, E. Dana Durand, David Jayne Hill, Joseph A. Hill, Gaillard Hunt, Charles Cheney Hyde, J. Franklin Jameson, Vernon L. Kellogg, Julius Klein, Baron Serge Korff, H. Barrett Learned, Waldo G. Leland, M. O. Lorenz, Lewis Meriam, Balthasar H. Meyer, Adolph C. Miller, Charles Moore, Thomas W. Page, Herbert Putnam, Paul S. Reinsch, Richard A. Rice, John Jacob Rogers, James Brown Scott, Oliver L. Spaulding, Ethelbert Stewart, Henry C. Taylor, Eliot Wadsworth, Francis Walker, William F. Willoughby, and George F. Zook.

The Board is organized in a Committee of Management and five technical divisions representing history, political science, international law and diplomacy, economics, and statistics. The Division of History consists of Messrs. Jameson, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, chairman, Gaillard Hunt, of the State Department, Klein, of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Learned, Leland, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Moore and Rice, of the Library of Congress, Zook, of the Bureau of Education, and Colonel Spaulding, Chief of the Historical Section, Army War College. All of these members of the Division of History are eminently desirous to help the work of young men or women who may come to Washington for purposes of historical study, and each of them has his special familiarity with a given body of historical material in Washington or his special way of being useful to students. Their aid would take the form of information respecting the location of desired material (no small matter in the archival confusion of Washington), assistance in securing access to it, and, in the case of graduate students, advice respecting its use. There is also provision for whatever record of the work of the student may be desired by the officials of the institution from which he comes. Students in the graduate de-

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partments of American universities, students in foreign universities, and other investigators to whom the service thus gratuitously proffered may be useful, should apply by letter to the secretary, stating the nature of the work which they desire to do in Washington, sending at the same time, in the case of graduate students, statements from the dean of the school in which the student is enrolled as to the approval of his work by the competent university authorities, and any information which his teacher may supply as to the scope or conduct of the work proposed. If upon arrival in Washington the student will register at the office of the secretary, he will be referred to suitable members of the Board of Research Advisers. The members of that body, it may be repeated, are earnestly desirous to have students come in increasing numbers, and to assist them to the utmost of their power.

J. F. J.

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DOCUMENTS

The Accounts of a Colonial Governor's Agent in the Seventeenth Century

ONE of the most tantalizing problems in the study of early colonial development is the part played by agents in pushing their principals' business before the various bodies which had control of plantation affairs. In the eighteenth century the activities of the agent were more regularly established, but in earlier days the brief references to the petition of an agent, or his attendance at a meeting, merely whet the appetite, and make us wonder how affairs were really engineered. The ponderous documents of the *Calendar* need for a commentary the private letters and papers of the men who were engaged in pulling the strings. The two documents which are printed below provide such material. They are the accounts of Sir William Stapleton, governor-general of the Leeward Islands from 1672 to 1686, kept by his London agents, William Freeman and Patrick Trant.

Stapleton was an Irish gentleman who lost his estates during the troubles in Ireland, and fought on the Continent as a soldier of fortune until the Restoration. He first went to the West Indies as an officer in a regiment specially raised by Sir Tobias Bridge for the French war in 1667. There he was soon appointed deputy-governor of the Irish island of Montserrat; in 1672 he succeeded Sir Charles Wheler as governor-in-chief of the Leeward Islands, which had been separated from Barbados in the previous year, and he held this post until his death in 1686. As governor, Stapleton needed an agent in London, both to push his affairs with the Council of Plantations, and also to receive his salary, and the pay of two companies which had been established in the Leeward Islands. His first agent was the famous merchant Ferdinando Gorges the younger, and Stapleton persuaded the islands to adopt his agent as their representative, and to vote him a salary.

The Governor was pleased to discourse with me something concerning Capt. George [wrote Jeaffreson from St. Christopher in 1676], whom the island did employ to act for them at home, and allowed him two or three hundred pounds per annum; for which he did but little; and when they ordered him to petition for a frigate or two, to be sent hither for the security of the Islands and theire trade, without which the inhabitants cannot live, he sent them this answer,—that in tymes of peace they had noe occasion for such a security, and in tymes of war his Majestie had soe much to doe with his shipps, that he could

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not spare one. So it is thought they have withdrawn their allowance to Captain George.[1]

Stapleton also was dissatisfied with his agent and transferred his power of attorney to other hands.

Captain William Freeman was the son of a St. Christopher planter, and himself owned land at Montserrat, where he had probably first met Stapleton. He returned to London, apparently in 1675, and at once began to act on Stapleton's behalf. Gorges continues to help him until a gratuity of £100 in January, 1677, marks the end of his interest in Stapleton's affairs. Freeman was most energetic on behalf of his principal, but after a few years the governor decided on another change and in January, 1681, gave his letter of attorney to Patrick Trant, the cousin of his old comrade in arms and son-in-law, James Cottar. Some years later Stapleton's widow, who was suing Trant for embezzlement, declared that he

> haveing a minde to get into the employm't of solliciting and manageing Sir Wms affaires, by himself and other represented to Sir Willm that mr Freeman had misbehaved himself or been negligent and not done his duty in w't he had been intrusted withall and that there was noe occasion of mr Bradshawes service, or to such effect: (w'ch was not any reall truthe but only an artifice and contrivance of the def'ts to put them out and gett himself into the employm't).[2]

This the defendant denied and declared that the agency had been pressed upon him by Stapleton who had written "complaineing that the receiving his money by Freeman had been very chargeable and that he had not any interest for 8000 *li.* rec'd for him".[3] Whatever was the real cause for the change of agent, Stapleton and Freeman quickly drifted apart, and a sharp quarrel broke out in 1682, when Freeman objected to the governor's ruling in a case in which he was interested, and began to malign his principal. Stapleton's Irish temper flashed out in a violent letter. "Were I near you I would dash your teeth and words down your throat, forbear at so great a distance, else I do not question to have those there that will correct your insolence and ingratitude."[4] Despite this quarrel Freeman still retained the balance of Stapleton's money, and made a few small payments on his behalf. Freeman raised claims for fees, which were disputed. Writing in 1682, Trant says,

[1] J. C. Jeaffreson, *A Young Squire of the Seventeenth Century*, I. 194.

[2] Brief, Stapleton *v.* Trant. All the documents quoted in this paper, including the accounts, form part of the Stapleton Manuscripts which have been lent to the John Rylands Library, Manchester, England, by Sir Miles T. Stapleton, Bart.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681–1685, no. 1523.

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As to Mr Freemans clayme for charges he was at in sollicitting two yeares pay w'ch he hath not rec'd for the sold'rs, I doe not know any thing of it, but this I can say, that I have beene at noe other charge for what I rec'd than the proper Fees, w'ch you have an acco't off, and the one shilling per *li.* for the sollicitting and receiving of it, is in my Oppinion as much and as little as the trouble deserves, and it is an equall allowa. betweene the Sould'r and the Agent, but this I must say, that if I receive noe money, I shall not think fitt to expect any allowance, neither doe I think it reasonable for me to expect any allowance for charges in that case. But this business haveing been out of Mr Freemans way, possibly he may be at some expence in going to Windsor or Hampton Court and other places expressly about it, and haveing noe success in the procureing of the money, soe as to have the usuall allowance for it as formerly, I beleeve he expects the Charges he was at, but whether you think fit to allow it him, or whether w'n you have an Acco't of it, you will not think it too inconsiderable to dispute with him, I refer to your Consideracion.[5]

The matter still dragged on, and fifteen months later Trant reports:

I have demanded your money of Capt'n Freeman in order to dispose of it to some advantage for you or desir'd that he would at your riske as you should direct him, and that I would answer that you would approve of what I directed in that matter. his answer to me was that you had objected to some p'ts of his acco'ts and that without your discharge he did not thinke himselfe safe and that he thought it reasonable not to parte with what he had in his hands untill he were discharg'd of that acco't. severall alteracions [*sic*] past uppon this matter but in fine he keepes the money. I am now goeing to looke him out in order to demand it before witnesses.[6]

Indeed it was not until Stapleton himself came to England in May, 1685, that Freeman was called to an account. The detailed statement of receipts and expenditures which he then drew up for Stapleton is the first document printed below.

Stapleton, however, had only come home to die: at the beginning of April, 1686, he made his will, appointing Trant as one of his trustees, and soon after went to France, where he died at Paris on the third of August. Shortly before his death he heard that a firm, to whom his agent professed to have lent large sums of Stapleton's money, had gone bankrupt, and a codicil was drawn up which removed Trant from among the executors. Trant's embezzlement of some £8000 of his principal's money led to a lengthy law-suit, and although Stapleton's widow received judgment in her favor, the Revolution of 1688 and Trant's subsequent condemnation as an Irish traitor made it almost impossible to recover the money. It is to this law-suit that we owe the preservation of many of the documents on

[5] Trant to Stapleton, Nov. 11, 1682.

[6] Trant to Stapleton, Feb. 18, 1683/4.

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which this notice is based, for they were handed into court to support Lady Stapleton's claims. The second document printed below, Trant's statement of accounts made up to September 1, 1685, was preserved in this way, as well as a number of letters from Trant to Stapleton of the years 1682 to 1686.

The interest and importance of the documents printed below lie in the light which they throw upon the duties and activities of the early colonial agents, and particularly upon the actual working of the administrative system during the first ten years of the Lords of Trade. Though these three agents were, first and foremost, Stapleton's personal representatives, yet from the very nature of the case they frequently did business for, and represented, the islands. After the first experiment with Gorges the Leeward Islands preferred, for several years, to rely on occasional missions instead of permanent agents, and so for practical purposes the governor's agent became the accepted mouthpiece of the islands also. We always find these governor's agents working in harmony with any special missions sent from the islands.[7] It should not be supposed that these accounts represent the whole of the governor's wealth, for he possessed land in Ireland, as well as sugar plantations in all the four Leeward Islands, and a potwork at Nevis, but the sum embezzled by Trant represented all the available cash to the governor's credit at the time of his death.[8] The documents really speak for themselves, but a few notes may be added to bring out some special points.

(a) *Receipts Column.* The receipts consist partly of public and partly of private moneys. The account opens with several entries of receipts of the governor's salary, and of pay for the two standing companies at St. Christopher. The governor was entitled to £700 per annum, and the two companies had been established at the Peace of Breda and recruited from Sir Tobias Bridge's regiment, which was then disbanded. Salary and pay were both charged on the Four and a Half per Cent. duty, which was at this time let out to farmers, but for several years neither governor nor soldiers saw a penny of their money. These sudden payments were due to the energy of the newly organized Lords of Trade, who had taken up the question of these arrears with great vigor.[9] The importunity of Freeman, the new agent, and of special envoys, such as Lieutenant Greatbach, sent home to plead the hard case of the starving soldiers, had some effect,

[7] I have worked out these points more fully in *The Development of the Leeward Islands, 1660–1688* (Cambridge University Press, 1921), but that essay was written before I had access to the present documents.

[8] Will, and Lady Stapleton's petition.

[9] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1675–1676, no. 808: Report on Defence of St. Christopher.

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but the pay soon fell into arrears once more. Thus the payment of July 5, 1679, was really due in July of the previous year, and even the constant pressure of Trant could only secure another three payments, which still left the crown heavily indebted to the luckless governor, and his widow strove in vain to secure her just debts.[10] The parlous state of the finances, and the shifts to which the Exchequer was put, are vividly reflected in Trant's letters. The agent suggests that the best way for his principal to obtain his arrears is to lend the necessary money to the Treasury! "If you find it fitt when you come home to advance money to the L'ds Com'rs of the Trea'ry in order to secure the pay due and your other Claymes you may be sure that I will follow your direccions and assist you effectually."[11] Other public moneys are the special grant of £500 made by the king for the building of a fort on St. Christopher (entry of August 23, 1678, Freeman), and an installment of a similar grant of £1500 for fortifying the other three islands of the group (entry of February 10, 1681, Freeman). Private moneys consist of the interest on various loans, the sale of sugar (two entries), and various minor items such as bills of exchange.

(b) *Expenditures Column.* The entries in this column are really the more instructive, and give some idea of the difficulty a governor found in obtaining the money that was actually due to him, and the expenses which made so serious an inroad into the sum before it actually reached his hands. Thus besides the usual Exchequer fees (*e.g.*, entry of October 10, 1676), there were heavy gratuities to the various officials, the agent's personal expenses, and his commission of five per cent. (entry of October 10, 1677). An amusing example of a graduated scale of tips is given in the entry of November 25, 1676, where Sir Robert Southwell, the secretary to the Lords of Trade, receives fifty guineas, his enterprising clerk Blathwayt five, while the messenger has to be content with two. Blathwayt was a man of extraordinary ability, who, as Evelyn records, "raised himself by his industry from very moderate circumstances". He also raised his price, and Christopher Jeaffreson, writing in 1683, declares that, "without a gratification of twenty or thirty guynies to himself, at the least, I doubt much the effect of the letters or anything else".[12] But Blathwayt was worth a full fifty guineas, as is shown by the entry of December 1, 1682 (Trant's account). The present of eighty guineas to Secretary Sir Joseph Williamson is an interesting side-light on the habits of a famous secretary of state. The accounts

[10] Petitions of Dame Anne Stapleton.

[11] Trant to Stapleton, Feb. 18, 1683/4.

[12] J. C. Jeaffreson, *op. cit.*, II. 59.

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are full of such entries, and it would only be wearisome to comment on each; the douceurs were usually presented in guineas and the price of these coins fluctuated from time to time.

The activities of the various envoys who arrived in London to urge the governor's business may be traced from the documents in the *Calendar,* but Freeman's accounts explain the inner working of their mission. Thus in 1675 Lieutenant Greatbach was sent to England with the muster-rolls of the two companies, while in the same year Stapleton's brother Edmund came home, and between them they managed, with the help of Freeman and Gorges, and a liberal distribution of "presents", to secure some of the arrears which were due. Stapleton's old comrade and son-in-law, Sir James Cottar, came home in 1681 to settle in Ireland; he brought with him copies of the laws of the various islands for approval by the Lords of Trade, and entries of payments to him also appear.

The more personal entries include the expenses of Lady Stapleton, who was in England on a visit in 1679. Her eldest son James appears in England in 1678 and a little later the next son William arrives, attended by two negro servants, and payments for the two boys' education occur regularly. An amusing incident occurred a few years later. Early in 1684 Trant writes, "I intend this afternoone to wayte of [*sic*] the Children who Mrs. Terrell tells me are very well, and I would have seen them oftner than I have but that I had noe direccions from you and did not know how it might be taken heare you'l doe well to remove them to a better schoole but it will be best when you come hither."[13] In reply Stapleton wrote to one or two friends to ask their opinion of sending the boys to Westminster, but the terrors of Busby's rod were too great, and Jeaffreson warned him that their great-aunt "the Lady Marsh is too tender of them to part with them to such harsh masters, as the masters of that schoole are reputed to be".[14] It is possible that the presents to Dr. Littleton, who was prebendary of Westminster, and had been promised the reversion of the post of head-master, are connected with these schemes. But the upshot of the matter was that the two boys, with the younger brother Miles, all went to Paris with their parents in 1685, where, on Stapleton's death, "The three sons were by order of Patrick Trant forceably taken away from their Mother, and detain'd in a Convent at Paris to be educated in the Roman Religion, to the great grief of their Mother who took care to have them Baptized and brought up in the Protestant Religion".[15] The eldest, James, though

[13] Trant to Stapleton, Feb. 18, 1683/4.
[14] J. C. Jeaffreson, *op. cit.,* II. 118.
[15] The Case of Lady Anne Stapleton.

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only fourteen, sent a petition by his mother to England, and when he was separated from his brothers and sent to Douai in consequence, managed to escape to England.[16]

There is one notable omission in the entries for 1679: in November of that year Stapleton was created a baronet, but there is no record of any money expended in that business. It is very significant that the governor received this honor while his wife was at home in England, and it seems highly probable that the large sum of £1500 paid her in that very month was connected with this business. Lady Stapleton returned to the West Indies in the next year, and the owners of the *Golden Lyon,* probably anxious to stand well with the governor, refused to accept any passage-money.

The agent made large purchases of goods for his principal, but he also remitted money by bills of exchange, usually drawn upon Robert Helmes of Nevis. On several occasions he actually sent specie, for the islands were very hard put to it for a medium of exchange, and any additional coin was very welcome (see entries of February 20, 1676/7, and February 28, 1679/80, Freeman; December 1, 1682, and March 8, 1683/4, Trant). The governor, however, was determined to make the best bargain he could and Trant refers to the shipment of December, 1682, as follows:

> I have endevor'd to find light peeces of eight to the value of Two Thousand pound to be sent to you but to save my life could not find one hundred pounds worth of that kind all over London, neither were they to be had any other where in England, and uppon Consideracion of the inconven'cy and losse you might have by the want of them I chose to send into Ireland for such rather then send weighty ones from hence, and accordingly have writt in Aug'st last to send to you from thence uppon the first conven'cy for Barbados or the Leeward Islands two thousand pounds worth of the lightest pieces of eight but the Trade of carrying them thither from Ireland is become soe Comon that the lightest pieces are very scarce to be had there though Spanish money be currant there. my Correspondent vizt. Mr. John Nagle of Dublin hath writt to me that he has at last pick'd up that quantity for me and that he was sending them away upon two severall shipps.[17]

Writing some years later and referring to a transaction which he carried through after the date at which the present account was made up, Trant again mentions the matter. "I have bought 1400 *li.* in pieces of eights as Sr. Wm. order'd but because he complain'd soe much of the prejudice of having weighty pieces I did employ severall

[16] *Ibid.* He died on board H.M.S. *Jersey* in 1690 and was buried in St. Nicholas Church, Liverpool. His brother William, who succeeded to the baronetcy, was brought up a Roman Catholic in France, and left money in his will to pay for his education.

[17] Trant to Stapleton, Feb. 18, 1683/4.

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to pick up light ones w'ch tooke up some time soe that it was but the begining of last weeke the last parcell of them came in."[18] The cause of this eager search after light coin will be readily understood when it is remembered that the island assemblies had rated the piece of eight at six shillings.[19]

Stapleton's official letters are full of complaints about the neglect of his two companies: they are always in arrears with their pay, they are naked and starving. "I am out of purse for shrouds for the dead and cure of the wounded, for minding their arms and giving them credit in merchants' storehouses."[20] Trant's accounts show the steps which Stapleton took to make his men look like soldiers instead of Spanish beggars, and the two companies must have made a brave show in their green stockings, their red coats lined with blue, and their black hats with white bands and edging (entries of December 1, 1682, Trant). But here again Stapleton was dissatisfied and Trant apologized, "I am sorry the stockens were not shutable as you would have them for the sold'rs it was a great fault that the Colour was not consider'd bett'r."[21] And we are left to wonder whether the green came off on the men's legs or whether the color faded in the tropical sun.

Among many other personal items we may notice the money paid for the negroes captured at Tobago in 1677. They had been granted to Stapleton by the king, but the Dutch agent put in a claim and the matter was settled by a compromise and a money payment. Other personal items are the frequent shipping of clothes to the planter and his family, the parchments sent out for the drafting of title-deeds, the coppers for sugar-boiling, the diamond pendants for my lady, and the six silver porringers, the silver tankard, and the salt-cellars which we can see adorning the table of the prosperous and successful governor. The whole account gives us a faithful and vivid picture of the times, and provides a lively commentary on the more formal documents of the *Calendars*.

C. S. S. Higham.

[18] Trant to Lady Stapleton (at Paris), June 16, 1686.

[19] *Development of the Leeward Islands*, pp. 195 ff.

[20] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681–1685, no. 860. Stapleton to Lords of Trade, Dec 20, 1682.

[21] Trant to Stapleton, July 14, 1683.

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I. CAPTAIN WILLIAM FREEMAN'S ACCOUNT.[22]

[*Page 1.*] *Sr William Stapleton Baronet, debr.*

			£.	s.	d.
1675.					
Augt.	25.	For your bill paid Mr. John Huffum....	10		
feb.	26.	For money paid to Leiut. Greatbach 5l. and more pd. for privie seale £9. 13s...	14	13	
1676.					
June	27.	For the cost and charges of a parsell of goods loaden on the *Olive branch*....	76	14	10
July	3.	For money paid to Mr. Bradshaw for Excheckr. fees as pr. acct. sent.....	112	13	4
		For my bills of exchange charged on Mr. Robert Helms pr. order of Capt. Gorge	1500		
Augt.	14.	For money paid to Richard Reeves for a debt due from Leiut. Greatbach.....	52	16	
Sept.	18.	For 80 guinnies paid Sr. Joseph Williamson pr. order cost 21s. 10d. each.....	87	07	8
		For money passed to Robert Helm's credit pr. your order.....	50		
	25.	For 50 guinnies presented to Sr. Robert Southwell and 5 ditto to Mr. Blathwait and 2 ditto to the Messinger all presented by your brother cost in all.....	62	00	10
Janry.	25.	For 50 guinnies presented Mr. Charles Bertie and 5 ditto to Capt. Shales.....	59	16	3
		For sundry disbursmts. paid Mr. Bradshaw as pr. his acct. of perticlrs. sent.....	167	04	6
		To Capt. Gorges for his disbursmts. in soliciting your businesse before my arrivall in England paid him by your order....	100		
		For money expended for coach hire and expenses at such times as I gave attendance: And given away to door keepers and such like expenses as may appeare pr. perticular Acct. of every dayes expense	79	14	
feb.	20.	For 3137 ps. 8s[23] loaden aboard the *Olive Branch* Giles Lawrence Mr.....	764	09	9
		For my bills of exchange charged upon Robert Helms for.....	635	10	3
		For goods sent you by the *Olive branch* as pr. accompt sent you.....	42	06	
1677.					
May	13.	For a present made Charles Bertie Esq, when setled 2 yeares pay for the Soldiers uppon the Chimney Farmers.....	100		

[22] The original pagination of Freeman's account is confusing. I add the pages of both documents in square brackets.

[23] Pieces of eight.

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			£.	s.	d.
		To Mr. Bradshaw for fees pd. for the same as pr. accompt sent.....	175	0	04
		For money putt out uppon interest to Mr. Ben Skutt on mortgage.....	500		
		To Thomas Gooding for a councill fee for perusall of the deeds.....	1	01	6
		To Commissary Banes for stating your arrears 5 guinnies.....	5	07	6
July	31.	For goods sent you pr. the *Abraham* as pr. Invoice sent.....	72	13	2
		Charges paid for taking out your comission for Viceadmirall.....	7	12	6
		paid William Baxter for a debt due from Leiut. Greatbach pr. yr. order.....	2	07	4
		For 10 guinnies presented Sr. Phillip Lloyd for his care and trouble in executing sundry orders of councill relating to the countries concern viz the seale commission of Admiralty and others and 2 guinnies to his Clark for the coppies of all orders now sent you at 21s. 8d. p.g.	13		
		For money paid Mr. Baxter I say Basset for Gazetts and votes of Parliament sent		15	
		Carryed to pa. (2)	4693	03	9

[*Page 2.*] *Sr. William Stapleton Baronet debr.*

1677.

			£.	s.	d.
		For the sum totall brought from pa. (1)..	4693	03	09
July	20.	For your bill paid Thomas Cole pr. order of Robert Helms.....	50		
		For your bill paid Coll. Mathew £366. 8. 11 and pd. his wife £150.....	516	08	11
		For 3 coppers sent you as pr. Invoice sent	64	05	6
Octob.	10.	For my bills charged upon Robert Helms	2500		
		For my provition for receiving £9113. 8s. being 4 yeares pay at 12d. pr. £.....	455	13	4
		This Acct. was sent you.....	8279	11	6
Decem.	4.	For a present made Charles Bertie Esq. 100 guinnies.....	107	10	
		For taking severall orders of councill out relating to the country.....	2	10	
		For fees paid in the Excheckr, as pr. Mr. Bradshaw's acct. sent.....	118	13	10
		For a present made to Capt. Shales 10 guinnies.	10	15	
		For my provition for receiving one yeares pay being £2278. 07s. at 12d.....	113	18	4
		For money put out uppon interest on your accompt to Sr. Thomas Escourt and Thom: Dond.....	500		

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		Put out uppon bond to Cornwall Bradshaw Esq. at interest.....	1000		
		For my bills of exchange charged on Robt. and Wm. Helms.....	1200		
			11332	18	8
March	4.	To Sr. Joseph Williamson paid him for the King's letter of guift for the Tobago negroes	6	09	
		For a present made Elizabeth Freeman pr. your order, 100 guinnies.....	107	10	
1678.					
April	12.	paid for taking out a privie seale for the Tobago negroes.....	21	10	
	18.	To councill fees and other charges paid for defending the suit against the Dutch Agent for the said negroes.....	6	09	6
May	9.	For your bill of exchange paid to the order of Jos: Jury.....	100		
	16.	For 6 silver porringers and one tankard cost you.....	25	08	9
June	4.	For entring a caveat in the Prerogative court against the Probat of Randoll Russell's will.....		13	
Aug.	16.	For money remitted to Ireland to Mr. Redmond Stapleton by your order.....	100		
	23.	To Cornwall Bradshaw, Esq., paid him for his paines and trouble in soliciting the £500 given by his Majty. for erecting forts on St. Christophers.....	20		
		For a small book called the present state of England[24] sent.....		4	6
Aug.	23.	For your bill of exchange paid Coll. Abed. Mathew	878	15	4½
Sept.	9.	Lent Mr. Thomas Griffith uppon a Mortgage	1000		
Octob.	2.	paid Peter Taylers bill for your son James clothes	8	19	
	8.	To Capt. Hare paid him for passages as pr. receipt.....	16		
	21.	For 2 silver salts sent pr. the ship *Content*, Will Deane Mr.....	13	10	
		Carryed to pa. (3)	13638	07	9

[*Page 3.*] *Sr. William Stapleton Baronet debr.*

			£.	s.	d.
1678.		for the sum totall brought from pa. (2)	13638	07	9
Novem.	18.	paid Mr. Thomas Coulson for acct. of Mr. Joseph Martin pr. your order.....	20		
	28.	For 10 guinnies presented Sr. Phillip Lloyd			

[24] Doubtless Edward Chamberlayne's popular *Angliae Notitia, or the Present State of England* (London, 1669, tenth ed. 1677).

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			£	s.	d.
		and money paid his clark for drawing severall papers in all.....	11	06	8
Decem.	9.	for a parsell of goods loaden on the *Abraham* as pr. Inv. sent.....	86	13	10
	17.	for one pr. of Diamond pendents sent by Capt. Winter.....	120		
	18.	paid Frances Consalvo the negro woman	10		
Jan. 1679.	29.	paid to dicto.....	2		
Apr.	3.	For a fee given to Sr. Richard Lloyd about the Tobago negroes.....	1	1	6
	25.	paid Commissary Watchtendunck being ½ the commission money agreed uppon for the Tobago negroes.....	337	10	
July	21.	for 100 skins of parchment sent you cost	4	03	4
Aug.	1.	paid Capt. Michael Smith pr. your order	200		
		paid for councill fees and drawing conveyances for the spring plantation.....	3	04	6
	15.	paid Cornwall Bradshaw Esq. for Excheck'r fees and for 1 yeares pay and salery received as pr. accompt sent you	145	15	6
		for my provition for receiving one yeares pay being the sum of £2573. 7. 4d. at 12d. pr. £.....	128	13	4
Octo.	15.	Lent Benjamine Skutt uppon bond at interest	300		
9br.	4.	To John Cary paid him for ironware sent pr. your order.....	9	01	07
		for your bill of Exchange paid William Wattson	10		
		for my bills charged uppon Robert and William Helms for payment of the soldiers	1200		
		for ballance of accompt due from Coll. Edmond Stapleton as appeares.....	346	12	6
		for money paid the Lady An Stapleton as appeares pr. her receipt.....	1500		
		To William Baxter paid him on accompt of Leiut. Greatbach more then 47s. 4d. charged before.....		2	11
			18074	13	5½

This Accompt was sent by the Lady Stapleton and the sum totall thereof is carryed to fo. (4).

[*Page 4.*] *Sr. William Stapleton Baronet debr.*

			£.	s.	d.
1679.		sum totall of Acct. brought over from the other side.....	18074	13	5½
feb.	28	for the cost and charges of 2500 ps. ⅝ sent you by Capt. Hare.....	619	01	

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March	7.	for money paid your Lady more then £1500 before charged as appears pr. receipt	200		
1680.	30.	for money paid the Lady Stapleton 30 guinnies	32	05	
		paid Earnest for a coach for your Lady 1 guinny	1	01	6
		paid Capt. Hare for passages by your Ladies order	45		
Aprill	20.	paid Mr. Watchtendunk in part of the second payment for the Tobago negroes	100		
		To Mrs. Reeve paid her for 1 months nursing a child pr. your ladies order..		15	
		for your bill of exchange drawn uppon me payable to Coll. Abednigo Mathew	677	15	5
		for your bill of exchange drawn uppon me pay'ble to Capt. Pogson	547	07	11
June	21.	To Mrs. Reeve paid her for 2 months nursing a child	1	10	
		To Sr. Phillip Lloyd and Mr. Blaithwaits clarks paid them for taking out and drawing the order of councill uppon petition for the soldiers pay	1	6	
July	1.	for your bill paid William Baxter for accompt of Sr. James Russell	24	08	4
Aug.	16.	paid Mr. Watchtendunk in full for the Tobago negroes	137	10	
		for 2 seales and your coat of arms sent by Capt. Billop	4	05	6
Sep.	6.	To John Carey paid him for a p'sell of iron ware pr. order	9	13	6
	20.	for 5 month nursing a child pd. Mrs. Reeves in full till the 20th of November next	3	15	
Novem.	2.	for the cost and charges of a p'sell of goods loaden on Capt. Winter as pr. Invoice sent	74	02	8
	10.	for your bill of exchange paid John Jones	40		
Jan.	10.	for boarding schooling and clothing your son James since christmas last as appeares by the accompt herewith sent you of p'ticulers	48	02	2
March	20.	paid Mrs. Reeve for 4 months nursing since the 20th of Novemb last	3		
		for the cost and charges of a p'sell of goods loaden on the *Geo.* as pr. Invoice	78	11	7
1681.					
Sep.	20.	paid Mrs. Reeve at 2 payments for 6 months nursing a child	4	10	
Octob.	6.	paid Capt. Hazelwood for your son William and 2 negroes passages	20		
		for your bill of exchange paid Thomas Glover	300		

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for your bill of exchange paid Cotter....	194			
paid ditto Cotter pr. your order for your daughters legacie left pr. Mr. Rookby	20			
For 4 doz. bottles of the best Pontack claret presented to Doctor Littleton cost 16s. pr. doz. and 3s. pr. doz. the bottles	3	16		
For ¾ of a yeares boarding of your son James with schooling and clothing as pr. accompt.....	31	9	4	
	21297	19	4½	
Ballance due to Sr. William Stapleton this 18th of Octobr. 1681.....	3074	00	8½	
	24372	00	1	

[*Page 5.*] *Sr. William Stapleton Baronet Credr.*

			£.	s.	d.
1676.					
July	3.	for 1 yeares pay for the two foot companies	2278	07	
		for 1 yeares sallerie received for your selfe as cheif Governor.....	700		
Janry.	27.	for 1 yeares pay for the two foot companies and 1 yeares sallery for your selfe[25]	3678	07	
1677.					
Octob.	9.	for 2 yeares pay for the two foot companies and 1 yeares sallery for your selfe	5256	14	
Janry.	10.	for 1 yeares pay and 1 yeares sallerie received	2978	07	
		This was the credit of the first Acct. sent you.....	14891	15	
1678.					
May	16.	Received of Robert Cook for old plate sould	32	09	11
Aug.	23.	For money received for erecting a fort on St. Christophers	500		
Sep.	4.	For 1 yeares interest received of Mr. Benjamin Skutt for 500£.....	30		
	9.	For money received of Sr. Thomas Escourt lent uppon bond £500 and 9 months interest	522	10	
		For 6 months interest received of Thomas Griffith Esq. for £1000 lent.....	30		
Octob.	8.	For £1000 received of Cornwall Bradshaw Esq., being so much lent uppon bond and 9 months interest received for the same £45	1045	00	
1679.					
May	7.	for £1000 principall received of Thomas Griffith Esq. and interest due uppon the same	1022	04	10

[25] This should really be two years' salary; note the amount, and compare *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677–1680, no. 233.

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		for money received of William Baxter for bills drawn by Sr. James Russell for Tobago negroes	462		
June	21.	for the neat proceeds of 6 tuns of sugar by the *Golden Lyon*.....	189	05	6
July	5.	for 1 yeares pay received for the two foot companies	2573	07	4
		for one yeares sallerie for your selfe....	700		
Octob.	13.	for 1 yeares interest received of Benjamine Skutt for £500.....	30		
		This was the creditt of the second Acct. sent you	22028	12	07
[1680.]					
May	10.	Received pr. bill uppon Daniel Arthur....	30		
June	29.	for 6 months interest made you good for £2500 made use of my selfe at 5 pr. cent pr. agreement	62	10	
		For 3 months interest more for £1500 at 5 pr. cent	18	15	
		By Robert Helms received of him for so much you disallow of which was carryed to his credit.....	50		
		For one hatt charged to accompt of Robert Helms pr. your order.....	3		
feb.	10.	For money received for the use of the leeward Islands £750 deducting 12d. in the pound for my provition £37 10s.....	712	10	
		Left in my hands by the Lady Stapleton to pay for her passage home in the ship *Golden Lyon* which the owners of dicto ship would not receive.....	20		
March	5.	Received of Nathaniel Rookby.....	20		
81. Aprl.	21.	Received of Benjamine Skutt being so much lent him uppon bond and a mortgage £800 and interest due uppon the same £80	880		
Sep.	16.	for a bill of exchange received of William Dockwray	200		
Octob.	18.	for your brother Edmond Stapleton's debt charged to your accompt pr. contra which you have ordered payment to be made from his estate.....	346	12	6
			24372	00	1

[*Page 6.*] *Sr. William Stapleton Baronet debr.*

1681.

			£.	s.	d.
decem.	3.	For a box of clothes for your Lady sent pr. Winter as pr. Invoice.....	46	05	6
	10.	paid Coll. Cotter as pr. receipt.....	150		
	20.	paid Elizabeth Avis for 3 months nursing a child.....	2	05	

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Jan.	11.	paid Coll. Cotter pr. Stephen Evance as pr. receipt	100		
	18.	For a quarters boarding and expences of Mr. James and Wm. Stapleton	18	18	
March	20.	paid Elizabeth Avis for 3 months nursing of a child	2	05	
1682.					
Apl.	14.	For your two sons last quarters boarding schooling and clothing as pr. accompt sent	30	10	
		For ballance of accompt due to you sent you this 14th of Aprill 1682	3191	07	02
		This accompt was sent Sr. Wm. Stapleton the 14th of Aprll 1682 and was allowed by him	3541	10	8

Dicto Debitor

June	21.	for 1 hhd. of white suger presented Mr. Watchendunk pr. your order	12	18	
July	18.	paid your bill to William Cope	20		
Sept.	14.	paid you a velvet coat and briches etc. sent you pr. your order	16	18	2
Octob.	4.	for your bill paid uppon accompt of Charles Pym	50		
Novem.	1.	paid your bill to the order of Charles Mathew	180		
		for the receipt of £5400 being two yeares pay for the two foot companies in St. Christophers at 12d. in the £	270		
Jan.	23.	paid for two perukes sent pr. your order to William Baxter	6	8	6
84. 9br.	4.	paid William Mathew in part of your bill drawn uppon Patrick Trant Esq. by order of Sd. Trant	407		
		paid for Mr. James and William Stapleton's boarding schooling and clothing etc. as pr. accompt since the 14th of Aprill 1682	187	12	
		for ballance due from the Estate of Coll. Edmo. Stapleton the principall debt being £346. 12. 6, of which I have received £181. 19. 9, being the neat proceeds of 29 hhds. suger received by two ships as may appeare by the Accompts received from Mr. William Baxter	164	12	9
		for the postidge of all your letters and packets from the yeare 1675 to the year 1682 being never charged in any former Accompt	24	12	
			1340	01	5

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To Ballance dew to Sr. Wm. Stapleton upon this acco'tt w'ch I cary to the Cr. of his new Acco'tt.....	2260	16	3
	3600	17	8

Sr. Wm. Stapleton, Dr.

To money lent Mr. John Wyntle uppon a Statute	£250		
To commission of goods sent you by sundry ships amounts to £986 at 2½ pr. cent.	24	13	
To commission for bills of exchange paid at severall times £4875 at 1 pr. cent..	48	15	
To my trouble expence etc. for putting out and receiving your money uppon interest at 1 pr. cent.....	48		
To commission and charges in following the suit with the Dutch agent and making the bargain cannot be esteemed less than	50		
To receiving £500 for the fort money ommitted at 12d. pr. £.....	25		
To receiving your own sallerie being £5600 at 12d. pr. £.....	280		
Except errors and omitions the 14th June 1685	726	8	

WM. FREEMAN.

[*Page 7.*] *Sr. William Stapleton Baronet Credr.*

1681.		£.	s.	d.
	Due to you on ballance of a former accompt in fo (4).....	3074		8
	for a bill drawn by Joseph Crisp on Nicholas Crisp	100		
feb.	15. for the neat proceeds of 40 hhds. of suger by Cope	366	17	6
82. ap.	14. By Robert Helms for an under charge uppon a beaver hatt and band.....		12	6
	This accompt was sent Sr. Wm. Stapleton the 14th of Aprill 1682.....	3541	10	8

Dicto Creditor.

Sep.	15. for so much charged to Coll. Abedn. Mathews acct. pr. your order.....	409	10	6
	for ballance due to you on the Accompt above	3191	07	2
		3600	17	8

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Sr. William Stapleton Dr.

Due to you on the ballance of the above accompt 2260 16 3 [26]

II. PATRICK TRANT'S ACCOUNT.

[*Page 1.*] *Sir William Staplcton Dr.*

1681.

			li.	s.	d.
January	21.	Paid for Sr Robert Howards Certificatt about your pencion and arreares.....	00	03	4
	31.	paid at Sr Robert Howards Office for a Copy of the Privy Seale for the paym't of your two Companys.....	00	10	
February	10.	For entring your L're of Attorney to me in the Excheq'r.....	00	02	6
		Paid for a Warrant for the paym't of a yeares sallary for your self, and one yeares pay for the two Companys....	3	00	00
		For two Orders upon the said Warrant	01	05	00
	21.	To the fees of 2778li. 10s. 8d. pd in the Excheq'r for the sold'rs money.....	29	17	00
		To the fees of 700. 00. re'd for y'r owne sallary	34	07	6

1682.

July	8.	For another Warrant for the payment of a yeares sallary for your self, and a yeares pay for the two Companys....				03	00 00
		for two Orders upon the said Warrant				01	05 00
	10.	To the fees in the Excheq'r of 700li. rec'd then for a yeares Entertainment for your self as Governor (vizt.)					
		Tellers Fee.....	£ 21.	00.	00		
		Auditor Generalls	8.	17.	6		
		Pells	4.	10.	0		
		And for 2778li. 10s. 9d. rec'd for one yeares Entertainm't for the two Companys, vizt.				62	19 00
		Tellers fee and bill.....	17.	17.	6		
		Sr. Robert Howard.....	7.	01.	6		
		Pells	3.	12.	6		
		To 1s. per li. allowance for my owne paines and trouble in receiving and solliciting for the sould'rs money being 5557li. 1s. 6d. is.....				277	17 00
December	1.	To 160 redd sarge coates lynd with blew sarge, one of w'ch being a pattern Coat cost 18s. 3d., and the rest 17s. each, w'ch 160 Coates were this day shippd					

[26] Page 8 is the back and is blank except for a few figures and the following endorsement in Sir William Stapleton's sprawling hand: "Account from mr. Freeman delivered to mr. Patrick Trant in June 1685."

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	for y'r use on the shipp *True Love*, Capt'n Helmes Comander.....		136 01 3
	To 320 payre of Shooes sent to you by sd said Capt'n Helmes, at 18d. each payre comes to		40 00 00
	To 320 shirts sent to you by ditto Helmes, at 1s. 9d. each is.....		28 00 00
			£618 07 07

[*Page 2.*]

Ditto Dr.

			li. s. d.
1682.			
	Brought over Dr.....		618 07 07
December 1.	To 5 Baggs sent to you by Capt'n Helmes, containeing 4414½ peeces of Eight amounting to 1000li. ster., (vizt.)		
	No $\frac{1}{2}$ containeing 1584½ ps. 8t, wt. 1383 oz. 5d. at 5s. 3¾d. is.....	£367. 8. 4	
	No 3 containeing 830 ps. 8t, att 4s. 6d. pr peece is	186. 15	
	No 4 containeing 1000 ps. 8t, at 4s. 6d. per peece is	225. 0. 0	1000 00
	No 5 containeing 1000 ps. 8t, at 4s. 5d. per peece is	220. 16. 0	
	To 320 payre of Greene Stockens sent to you by ditto Helmes at 18d. each payre comes to		24 00 00
	To 169 black Hatts with white Hatt bands, and white edging at 3s. 6d. each, comes to		28 00 00
	Paid for severall Casks to pack upp the sd Goods in.....		01 13 6
	To Freight pd to Capt'n Helmes for sd Goods, (vizt.)		
	for the Cases	3. 00. 00	
	for the peeces of Eight..	10. 00. 00	14 00 00
	primage	1. 00	
	To portrige, charges of shipping, Custome etc. about the sd Goods.....		04 14 2
	To William Blathwayt Esqr. by y'r order 50 Guinys		54 03 4
1683.			
7ber 22.	To Mr. John Cavenagh by your Order		20 00 00
	To 12 Guineys paid Capt Cressett to defray the change of following Billopps businesse		12 18 00
28.	To Fees pd at the Exchequer for 2313li. 19s. 9½d. recd for the sould'rs (vizt.)		

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Tellers fee and bill.....	£15. 6. 6		
Sr. Robert Howards office	6. 5	24 11 6	
Pells	3. 0. 0		
To Fees pd. for your owne Entertainement of 700li., (vizt.)			
To the Teller	£21. 00. 00		
To Sr Robert Howard....	8. 15	34 05	
To the Pells.....	4. 10		
For a Warrant for your owne and y'r sould'rs money		03 00 00	
For 2 Orders upon sd. warrant.....		01 05	
		£1840 18 01	

Ditto Dr.

[*Page 3.*]

1682.

		li.	s.	d.
	Brought over Dr.....	1840	18	01
	To money paid for an Order of Councell for a Lycence for you to returne into England	2	12	6
	To money pd. the Secretary for the Kings Lycence for you.....	6	5	
March 8.	To 4 baggs containeing 801li. 17s., shippd on board the *Success* of Lymerick Thomas Smith Master, and consignd to Richd Trant Esqr, and Mr Henry Whearely in Barbadoes for y'r use, (vizt.)			
	No 1, containeing 1000 plate peeces at 4s. 9d. pr peece is £237. 10			
	No 2, containeing 782¼ ditto at 4s. 9d. per peece is 185. 15. 8	801	17	00
	No ¾, containeing 1693 plate peeces of severall values 378. 11. 4			
	To 19s. 10d. p'd for Exchange of 378li. 11s. 4d. in light money..... £ 00. 19. 10			
	for 4 boxes, 4 baggs and portrige 00. 6. 11			
	Post of L'res from Dublin to Lymerick about sd money 00. 12	13	19	10
	For Comiss'n for receiving and shipping sd money at Lym'ick at 1li. per cent. 8. 00. 9			
	To ½ per Cent Comiss'n to John Nagle for remitting the sd money from Dublin 4. 00. 4			
	To 12 Baggs containeing 1200li. ster. shippd on board the *3 Brothers* of Cork Hugh Murphy Master, consign'd as above for y'r use (vizt.)			

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No 1. cont. 421 plate peeces at 4s. 9d. per peece is	£99. 19. 09		
2. cont. 421 plate ditto at 4s. 9d. per peece is	99. 19. 09		
3. cont. 421 plate peeces at 4.9	99. 19. 09		
4. cont. 421 plate peeces at 4.9	99. 19. 9		
5. cont. 421 plate peeces at 4.9	99. 19. 9		
6. cont. 433 plate peeces at 4. 7½	100. 2. 7½	1200 00 00¾	
7. cont. 464¾ peeces at severall vallues	100. 8. 2¼		
8. cont. 421 peeces at 4s. 9d.	99. 19. 9		
9. cont. 421 peeces at 4.9	99. 19. 9		
10. cont. 439½ peeces at severall vallues	100. 3. 7½		
11. cont. 423½ peeces at severall vallues	99. 19. 4½		
12. cont. 435 peeces at severall vallues	99. 8		
To exchange of Light money paid	2. 00. 00		
for a doz'n baggs, 2 boxes, two Casks, charges of shipping	0. 15. 8		
for fraight p'd in Cork...	12. 00. 00		
for expresse and post of L'rs	10	33 12 00	
Comiss'n for receiveing ditto money at 1 pr C	12. 3		
John Nagles Comiss'n for receiveing and remitting do. from Dublin.....	6. 3. 4		
		3899 4 5¾	

[*Page 4.*] *Ditto Dr.*

1684.

		li.	s.	d.
	Brought over Dr.....	3899	04	5¾
June 28.	To Capt'n Cressett towards the Charges of yours and Capt'n Bramlys business with Capt'n Freeman	40	00	
August 9th.	For y'r Childrens quartridge due at Middsomer last.... 10li. oos. d.			
	To Mrs. Walker for severall necessarys for the Children 4. 2. 8	14	02	8
	For a Certificatt about your Arreares from the Excheqr.....	00	5	

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October	18.	To 50li. p'd Mr. Mathews in parte of a bill of Exc'e for 500li. you drew on me in his favor		50	00 00
		Paid for two suites of Cloaths, Hatts, Linnen and other necessarys for your two sonns		16	6 [5¼]
	23.	For y'r Childrens quartridge due at Mich'mas last	10. 00. 00	12	14 10
		for necessarys bought by Mrs. Walker for that time	2. 14. 10		
9ber	12.	To more p'd Mr. Will'm Mathews 59li. 8s. 11d. being the remaining part of the s'd bill of Exc'e (Capt. Freeman haveing paid 407li. in part thereof)		59	08 11
Jan'ry	13.	To Mr. Tayler for two suites of Cloathes for y'r sons		5	[8 0]
	24.	For y'r sons quartridge due at Christmas	£ 10. 00. 00	12	8 6
		To Mrs. Walker for necessarys bought for 'em	2. 8. 6		
1685.					
May	5.	To Mrs. Walker for quartridge due at Lady day	10.	13	07 4
		for severall disbursments made by her	3. 7. 4		
	14.	To the Tayler for suites of Cloaths for y'r sons	15	17	02
		For 2 hatts for 'em, and other disbursmts	2. 2. 0		
		For a yeares Schooleing, danceing, writeing etc. for the s'd Children due at Lady day last		14	14 6
		For sollicitting and receiveing of one yeares pay for the sould'rs		138	18 6
		For a refference upon your Pet'cion about the Negroes	2. 3.		2 8
June	25.	for Sr Robt. Howards Certificate about the arreares	5.		
		For the Insurance of 2000li. money sent you in specie by me out of Ireland at 3li. per cc., pd by Mr. Comyn		60	
				£ 4356	4 2

[*Page 5.*] *Ditto Dr.*

1685.

	li.	s.	d.
Brought over Dr	4356	4	2
To 4105li. for w'ch I tooke Sr John James, Major Huntington, and Mr Dawsonns bond the 24th June 83, pay'ble to you the 25th Xber following with Intrest	4105		

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June 1st. To 2000li. paid Capt'n Hynd uppon Ground rents conveyed to Col. Cotter in trust for you, the security for w'ch, together with Sr John James's bond above men-con'd I deliverd to you as pr y'r rec't 2000

10461 4 2

[*Page 6.*] *Ditto Dr.*

1685.

Brought over Dr..... £ 10461. 04. 2

Memorandum that 2000li. hath been rec'd by me of Capt'n William Freeman for w'ch I gave Mr Baxter my bond, and a Mortgage to Capt'n Freeman for an additionall security, but it was intended both by Mr Freeman and me that it should be applyed to Sr. Wm. Stapletons acco't, and [so it] shall be by me when my bond and mortgage is deliverd upp, [and uppon] Sr. Wm. Stapletons giveing me a Note to save me harmless.

[*Page 7.*] *Per Contra Cr.*

li. s. d.

1681.

Febr 21st. By 3478li. 10s. 8d. recd at the Excheq'r (vizt.) 700li. for a yeares sallary for your self ending 24th June (79) and 2778li. 10s. 8d. for a yeares Entertainm't for the two Companys of foot sould'rs in St. Christophers ending 7th July 79.... £ 3478. 10. 8

1682.

July 10th. By the like summe recd at the Excheq'r this day being a yeares Entertainm't for y'r self and two Companys to the 7th July 1680 £ 3478. 10. 8

1683.

7ber 28th. By money recd for you at the rec't of the Excheq'r £3013. 19. 9½ (vizt.) for the Sould'rs 2313li. 19s. 9½d. and for your owne sallary for one yeare 700li..... £ 3013. 19. 9½

By 14li. 14s. 6d. chargd in the foregoing folio as pd for your childrens schooleing, w'ch not being paid at the closeing of this acco't I am to give you creditt for 14. 14. 6

£ 9985. 15. 7

Due from Sr. Wm. Stapleton to ball'ce this acco't 475. 8. 7

£ 10461. 4. 2

[*Foot-note in Patrick Trant's handwriting.*]

30li. 7. 6d. charg'd for Comiss'n by Jno. Nagle to have been pd to himselfe and others for the money in Ireland is excepted to by Sr W. Stapleton and I doe consent to be charg'd with it therefore, viz. £30. 7. 6d.

Errors excepted the 1st day of 7ber 1685.

P. TRANT.

[*Page 8 is blank.*]

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

An Introduction to the History of History. By JAMES T. SHOTWELL, Ph.D., Professor of History in Columbia University. [Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1922. Pp. xii, 339. $4.00.)

THIS book "has grown out of an introduction to a proposed collection of texts from mediaeval and modern historians". Owing to the war and the war work of the editor the project of making such a collection was abandoned in conformity with a revision of the plan for the *Records of Civilization* according to which "studies" are henceforth to get right of way in this series over "sources". The Introduction takes the form of a history of antique historiography. Professor Shotwell holds that history has had to await these latest times to achieve fullness of stature: without the methods, apparatus, and collections of modern science and the assistance of archaeology and anthropology she could but grope in the dark of each past, near no less than remote; and without the sense so lately learned that, not politics and wars, but civilization in general is her real theme, she has omitted in ancient times when dealing with contemporary events most of the things that we should like to know. If only Thucydides with his almost ideal historical endowment had seen that "the greatest theme in history lay right before his eyes, but it was not war: it was the Athens of Pericles and his own time"! From this point of view, however, history's history has just begun, and the work of practically all past historians, and not of those of antiquity alone, should be relegated to an Introduction.

There is another point of view which has also to be taken, that history is an art as well as a science; and still a third, that history is the organization of a state of mind—one that takes nothing on faith and is preternaturally aware of the human instinct of credulity. And these are points of view which Professor Shotwell never fails to take when the occasion demands it. He is too good a craftsman and too poor a partizan to contend that because Mr. Hutton Webster, for example, gives a description of the Parthenon and the palace of Minos in his school text, whereas Thucydides did not do the one and could not do the other and had a blind spot for the activities of the grain-dealers in the Piraeus, Mr. Webster is a greater historian than Thucydides. None the less it is the constant testing of ancient historians by the scientific standards of the "New History" that gives character to Professor Shotwell's book.

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I suppose it *does* detract from the abiding worth of the Parthenon that it could not meet the needs of a modern congregation; and it *does*, I suppose, make Thucydides less valuable that what he "handed down as part of 'an everlasting possession' to future ages" is "instructions for our Von Moltkes, Kuropatkins, Joffres, or Ludendorffs in the handling of spearmen on foraging campaigns". But supposing the Parthenon had been designed as a place of worship and not as a residence for a goddess; or supposing the History of Thucydides had contained lengthy descriptions of what all Athenians knew from autopsy, what would contemporaries have done with them? There is something essentially wrong and unhistorical in demanding that historians of the past should minister to our needs and interests. Where Professor Shotwell's book is most novel it is therefore in our judgment least satisfactory.

And yet we are very glad to have it. It is the work of a scholar who has more understanding of and familiarity with the ancient historians than with the subjects of which they treat; but slips thence arising and an occasional strangeness of idiom, and an inadequate realization of the rôle played by works which (oftentimes because of their monographic or scientific character) have failed to reach us, do not lessen our gratitude for the fresh and intelligent comment on the whole panorama of ancient historiography. To the student of Greece and Rome not the least valuable part of the book is that dealing with Jewish and Christian records and historians. Professor Shotwell has done rare and tardy justice at once to the influence of Christian theology on classical history writing and to the spirit with which Christian historians adjusted pagan reports to their own Hebrew legacy and focused world history on the development of their own church.

We have space, perhaps, for one or two regrets and a word of final characterization. The Byzantine distinction between chronicles and histories is the continuance of ancient tradition, and Wilamowitz (*Apollo and History*) has made it the basis of an appreciation of the strength and weakness of the Greeks and Romans in this field which Professor Shotwell might well have considered. He attaches too little significance to the use made by the ancients of archival materials and too much to the extent to which we moderns have remedied their sins of omission and commission in dealing with their origins. Professor Shotwell approaches the history of history with a contagious sense for the philosophic implications and the wide human interest of his theme. His book abounds in striking thoughts strikingly expressed. Without neglecting the needful bibliographical details he has thrown open to all who can read a serious book a subject ordinarily reserved as part of the strict discipline of a profession.

W. S. Ferguson.

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History: its Theory and Practice. By BENEDETTO CROCE. Authorized translation by Douglas Ainslie. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company. 1921. Pp. 317. $3.75.)

THE historical scholar is interested in documents, men in general are interested in history as set forth in writing. There is a marked difference between the activity of the scholar in presence of "sources", and that of the historian in constructing a narrative of events. This difference has been minimized by academic historians who focus their attention upon documentary investigation, and neglect the critical examination of the presuppositions and implications of historiography. What the teacher of history has accepted without analysis from his non-academic predecessors, the philosopher has found to be of crucial importance. To the latter, the word "history" does not mean an academic study, does not mean research; it means the form in which historical narrative is presented, it means historiography.

The importance of historiography for philosophy has been revealed in the discussions which have marked the ultra-modern "idealistic reaction against science". Historiography has been discovered to be in the sharpest possible contrast to "science"; and because of this contrast it has been grasped at by idealists as offering a substitute for science. Science, Croce says, is useless for true knowledge (p. 311); whereas history represents ultimate reality, as being actual concrete fact. The value of this (most imperfect) translation of Croce's book for the historical scholar seems to me to lie in the demand it makes upon him to lay aside his attitude of indifference toward the fundamental methodological problems of his subject, and to ask himself what there is about this work that leads to its identification with the work of philosophy.

In the first place, Croce's discussion will appear enigmatical unless we realize that, for him, the true point of departure in historical study is not the document from which historical knowledge is derived, but the *mind* that thinks and constructs the historical fact (p. 75). What we are given, in the first instance, is the historian occupied in rethinking the past from the standpoint of the present (p. 277). The interest of the historian is a present interest; the importance of the facts of the past is relative to the present situation in which he finds himself. The past fact does not answer to a past, and hence a dead, interest, but to a present interest, unified with an interest of the present life (p. 12). This point of view, as we are all aware, is not original with Croce, but from it he proceeds to argue that all history is, of necessity, "contemporary" history. The past does not live otherwise than in the present (p. 91). Past facts become history only in the minds of those who think them (p. 13). True history is a present activity, and is a spiritual act (p. 20). History, then, is identical with thought about history; and Croce's conception identifies history with the act of thought itself (p. 117).

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Facts which are not of interest for some mind, and which are not thought, he holds, do not really exist (p. 73). A fact is historical only in so far as it is thought (p. 108). History is thought (p. 276). Nothing exists outside thought, and beyond thought there is nothing (p. 133).

Returning to a lower level, it is recognized by everyone that historiography is impossible without ideas; chronicles are not history, simply because they are statements of fact without ideological connection. The essence of historiography lies, therefore, in this thought about history. For Croce, what is of primary importance in a history as written is not the materials out of which it has been constructed, but the way in which it has been conceived, the mental form in which it has been envisaged (p. 176). Now, it is apparent that all the general ideas, such as "progress", which the historian employs are philosophical ideas, and represent problems of which philosophy treats. In Croce's thought it follows that, as history and philosophy deal with the same problems, they are themselves the same. More specifically, philosophy is the methodological aspect of historiography (p. 151), and as such is concerned with the criticism of the categories of historical interpretation. The necessity therefore arises that all students of historical matters should become conscious and disciplined philosophers (p. 161).

History is thought; but this thought undergoes development in the course of time. It is not a little curious to observe that one who asserts, with emphasis, that the philosophy of history is dead (p. 81), should take pride in having improved upon Hegel (p. 102). Whereas the latter held that Providence or reason makes use of the particular ends and passions of men, in order to conduct them unconsciously to more lofty spiritual conditions, Croce believes that, in history, there is only the spirit in its development. History is the eternal spirit individualizing itself (p. 100). The spirit itself is history, maker of history at every moment of its existence, and also the result of all anterior history (p. 25). If we ask how this "spirit" is to be discovered, the answer is that the spirit becomes transparent to itself as thought in the consciousness of the historian (p. 36). The act of thought is the consciousness of the spirit that is consciousness (p. 118). The self-consciousness of spirit "is philosophy, which is its history, or history, which is its philosophy, each substantially identical with the other" (p. 312).

The historian, secure in his academic activities, may well feel disposed to smile at ideas which, seemingly, are so far removed from his own sphere of thought. Croce's treatment of history is not, however, to be dismissed in any cavalier fashion. His work is a well-informed and understanding examination of the implications of historiography. Historiography implies some system of philosophy; Croce has based his philosophy upon historiography. Historiography is a product of thought; Croce has identified history with thought. What concerns the historical scholar most directly in this whole matter of the identification of history

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with idealistic philosophy is that, in systems such as that of Croce, the historical investigator becomes an object of contempt. Croce bears hard upon "the poor learned ones", "harmless little souls" (p. 32), "a most innocent group", infected with a "haughty pedantry" (p. 293), who repose their faith in a narrative of which every word can be supported by a text (p. 294). In the work of the erudite, he says scornfully, there is nothing but what is in the documents (*ibid.*); in it the documents persist in their crude and undigested state (p. 37). The activity of these men consists merely in pouring out one or more books into a new one (p. 27). "The learned are just the learned"; history is not to be written by such as these, but by men of the world (p. 188), who take an active part in the struggles of their time.

The philosophy of Croce is the end to which we are logically and inevitably led by the blind acceptance of historiography as the aim of historical work. Is it not time that historical scholars should recognize the fact that their proper affiliations are with workers in science, and not with the exponents of mystical idealism?

FREDERICK J. TEGGART.

The New Larned History for Ready Reference, Reading, and Research: the Actual Words of the World's Best Historians, Biographers, and Specialists. . . . The Work of J. N. LARNED, completely revised, enlarged, and brought up to date under the supervision of the publishers by DONALD E. SMITH, Ph.D., Editor-in-Chief, CHARLES SEYMOUR, M.A., Ph.D., Litt.D., AUGUSTUS H. SHEARER, M.A., Ph.D., DANIEL C. KNOWLTON, Ph.D., Associate Editors. . . . In 12 volumes. Vol. I.: A to Balk. (Springfield, Mass.: C. A. Nichols Publishing Company. 1922. Pp. xxiv, 838. $96 for set.)

THE first edition of this well-known work was published in 1893 in five volumes. In 1901, and in 1910, were added a sixth and then a seventh volume in order to cover the intervening events. Now, the first complete revision retains about seventy per cent. of the old material but enough more is added to make the new about three-fifths of the whole as it stands to-day. The new volumes differ in size and number from the old, the present format being much more handy for reading though the print is a shade finer than some people would like. The combination of alphabetical, topical, and chronological arrangement, with frequent cross-references, is explained in the beginning of this first volume. The colored maps are excellent and intelligible; those in black and white somewhat crude and less clear or accurate. Of the illustrations, much the same might be said.

The purpose of the author, as stated in the preface, is to write "a history of the world . . . at once fully satisfactory to scholars and to

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the general reader . . . to present a coherent narrative which would be not merely authentic, instructive, and interesting but would also permit the reader to have actually before him the words of the great masters of historical writing". Almost any reviewer finds himself in difficulties when trying to criticize equitably such a comprehensive work accomplishing so much of what it set out to do.

Much that is favorable might be said in regard to the choice of authors from whom the extracts are taken. Constantly familiar and respected names appear. To speak of fields with which the reviewer may claim to be somewhat acquainted: as regards the Balkans, might not some of the space given to Fullerton, Schapiro, and Turner have been used to advantage by Eliot, Driault, Miller, and Gueshoff, who seem a little closer to the subject? There are other authors who have written concerning northern Africa (Algeria) beside Gibbons, some who know it more accurately than he; his best work relates to other continents. The choice for Austria-Hungary was well-advised in many cases (Leger, for example), but Mark Twain was hardly worth quoting (pp. 707–709) quite so much *in extenso* nor need so much space be given to T. L. Stoddard's views on the subject of nationalities in 1914, views that are not acceptable to all. The paragraph concerning the "Independence of Czecho-Slovakia" (p. 732) is quite inaccurate, as is also the legend on the map. The spelling also needs revision (*e.g.*, Kramarcz).

Considerations of space available and authors accessible must have influenced choice in many cases. Many anonymous magazine articles are used, while extracts from the *Cambridge Modern History* are not marked with the writers' names.

The addition of matter extraneous to the historical in the narrower sense gives a flavor like that of a cyclopaedia of government and politics.

All in all one feels that the solid has been somewhat sacrificed to the interesting; the popular been put before the scholarly on various occasions.

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

La Terre et l'Évolution Humaine: Introduction Géographique à l'Histoire. Par LUCIEN FEBVRE, Professeur à l'Université de Strasbourg. [*L'Évolution de l'Humanité,* dirigée par Henri Berr, IV.] (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre. 1922. Pp. xxvi, 472. 15 fr.)

FEBVRE would have us consider *relations* between the earth and societies of men, not the Influence of the Earth on Man. He objects strenuously to Influences and to capitalized Earth or Man. I find his book interesting, but diffuse and sometimes incoherent.

Ratzel, naturalist and traveller (no dates), built up in Germany on the sound basis of Humboldt and Ritter's physical geography a new geography, which he called Anthropogeography. We find his key-note quoted

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on page 22 and again on page 436—the earth "serves as a rigid support to the humors and changing aspirations of men and governs their destinies with blind brutality". A school of neo-Ratzelians arose, from whom Febvre selects Miss Semple (*Influences of Geographic Environment*) as a scapegoat. He calls her work learned and interesting, but judges her a blind believer whom nothing can convince. Her fault is lack of sound knowledge, and broad generalization on trifling foundations. Her work is tried under no less than nineteen separate charges.

But independently of Ratzel there appeared in France the historian Paul Vidal de la Blache (born 1845, died 1918), who turned his attention to human geography about 1872. He is the master who is reverenced almost to the point of worship by Febvre. His doctrines are the true human geography. Under his influence a handful of his disciples have written long monographs on the regions of France. I think geographers generally account them excellent works. It is the thesis of Febvre's book that these are the model on which the whole world should be studied and described before attempts are made at further generalizations, for which as yet we lack sufficient knowledge. So he devotes most of his book to criticism of "a vicious and puerile conception of the rôle and proper methods" of human geography. The objectionable conception is that any natural environment compels men to any particular occupation or character. The Vidalian conception appears to be rather that the environment offers various possibilities to man from which men select according to their habits and ideas. Not the seas about Britain made the British navy. Britons did. The Briton has long been at school in that sea, of course. The importance of ideas is illustrated by saying, England is not an island merely because it has sea around it. Long-range guns, airplanes, and presently tunnels may enormously weaken its physical insularity. The big thing involved is the Englishman's conception of England as an island!

Nomadism is not a result of the desert and its scanty herbage. In no historic time have nomads been self-supporting [?] (p. 343). Bedouins, Mongols, Kirghiz now and formerly the Turks lived mainly on grain [?] which they obtained from sedentary peoples. The nomad is not a nomad by choice, but other men have taken the better watered land away from him. The desert does not compel him to wander from water to water, but—if I make out Febvre rightly (p. 342)—the men who drive him or keep him away from the better lands compel him to wander.

All serious geographers will agree that there is too much hasty generalizing in geography, that there is need of an immense amount of thorough study of detail in all countries, of much writing of well-founded regional monographs, but Febvre's presentation of the fact is too French and too provincial. Scores, perhaps hundreds of such monographs have been written by Germans to one by the French, and these not merely for regions of Germany but for distant parts of the world. We go to

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Partsch to learn of Greece no less than of Silesia. For Chile we must needs consult Carl Martin. It is as childish to have but 49 German titles in the list of 237 references in this book—and most of the 49 barely mentioned—as to quote Dr. Cook on the influence of polar night without citing Stefánsson on the other side. The French university system is one and its authorities may be gratified by this exaltation of Vidal de la Blache, but French science and French historians would have been better served by a fuller and clearer account of Vidal de la Blache's views on the earth and the evolution of man with a fair mention of work honestly and worthily executed beyond the boundaries of France.

MARK JEFFERSON.

Early Civilization: an Introduction to Anthropology. By ALEXANDER A. GOLDENWEISER, Lecturer on Anthropology and Sociology at the New School for Social Research, New York; sometime Lecturer on Anthropology in Columbia University. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1922. Pp. xiv, 428. $5.00.)

THE significance of anthropology for the historian has only recently been extensively recognized. Professor Robinson quotes Salomon Reinach as the authority for the statement that Mommsen had never heard of the ice age until shortly before his death. At the present time the situation has been greatly altered. Eduard Meyer introduces his latest edition of the *Geschichte des Altertums* by a whole volume on anthropology, and Professor Breasted's recent works give evidence of a thorough mastery of the so-called "prehistoric" period. Further, historians who have concerned themselves with the history of civilization have derived much aid from anthropology in the matter of the laws and processes of cultural development. Illustrations of this influence are to be found in such works as those by Lamprecht and Breysig, and the theoretical bearings of the problem have been admirably discussed by Professor Teggart in his two interesting volumes, *Prolegomena to History*, and *The Processes of History*. Finally, it was, perhaps, the chief contribution of Mr. Wells to bring to the general public a conception of the importance of anthropology as the background for history.

Until the publication of Dr. Goldenweiser's work historians have been at somewhat of a disadvantage in the attempt to utilize the results of anthropological research. With the exception of the charming little volume by Professor Marett, the only available synthesis of anthropology was the remarkable manual of Sir E. B. Tylor, first published in 1881 and never seriously revised. Since that time, owing chiefly to the work of Professor Boas and his students, the methods and results of anthropology have been revolutionized, and the limitations and errors of the older type of work by Avebury, Frazer, Morgan, and Letourneau fully revealed. The results of certain aspects of this newer variety of anthropological investigation have been set forth in works by Boas, Lowie, Wissler, and

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others, but the volume by Dr. Goldenweiser is the first important effort to synthesize the assured achievements of the research of the present generation of critical anthropologists.

The work opens with a consideration of certain basic methodological premises and concepts of theoretical anthropology. Then come several interesting chapters giving a concrete description of a number of typical primitive communities widely distributed in location. In part II. the industrial life, art, religion, and social organization of primitive men are admirably described and critically analyzed. This is unquestionably the most valuable and significant portion of the book. In the concluding chapters the author contrasts the earlier views of the mental traits of primitive men held by Spencer, Frazer, and Wundt with certain newer interpretations by Durkheim, Lévy-Bruhl, and Freud. It is, perhaps, regrettable that, as the expositor of the psycho-analytic point of view, W. H. R. Rivers was not chosen in the place of Freud.

Throughout the work the basic assumption is that cultural phenomena are the raw material of anthropological and historical study. Racialists following Gobineau and biological extremists, geographical determinists of the Ratzel school, and adherents to the psychological interpretation of history, such as the followers of Wundt and Lamprecht, will derive scant comfort from these pages. Yet Dr. Goldenweiser utilizes this "culture-concept" of the Boas school with moderation. Likewise, in considering the various theories of cultural development, he gives proper weight to all of the leading hypotheses. In every phase of analysis most of the significant recent interpretations are fairly but critically presented, and the work is thoroughly up to date in every respect. While by no means as brilliantly written as the previous works of Tylor and Marett, the book is well arranged and the diction clear. To those historians who are interested in the development of civilization or in the laws and processes of cultural and social evolution Dr. Goldenweiser's work will prove a timely and indispensable aid.

HARRY ELMER BARNES.

The Question of Aborigines in the Law and Practice of Nations, including a Collection of Authorities and Documents. By ALPHEUS HENRY SNOW. Written at the request of the Department of State. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1921. Pp. v, 376. $3.00.)

THE late Mr. Snow was long interested in the treatment of aboriginal and subject peoples, as evidenced by his *Administration of Dependencies*, inspired by the acquisition of the Philippines by the United States. The present work was written in 1918 at the request of the Department of State and is, in effect, a memoir primarily for official guidance and now published.

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The title shows the twofold aim of the author: first, to investigate the treatment of aborigines by states from the point of view of practice, and, secondly, to find what if any international legal limitations upon the activities of states there may be, regarded as so many legal duties in favor of aborigines. It is the second more than the first which challenges his attention, and he is primarily concerned in setting forth a scheme of legal duties of civilized states toward uncivilized tribes. In strict theory one might quarrel with his major premise. That a purely legal relationship can exist between entities, one of which is a functioning international person and the other a savage or barbarous tribe, is denied by the preponderance of text-writers. A savage tribe is not by the strict theory of international law a subject of international legal duties, and what duties a state owes it are moral duties only, because legal rights exist only within international society. As Westlake remarked (*Collected Papers of John Westlake on Public International Law*, p. 142): "The moral rights of all outside the international society against the several members of that society remain intact, though they have not and scarcely could have been converted into legal rights." These moral duties have been recognized by states and the extent of that recognition is to be measured, first, by domestic policy evidenced generally by legislation, and, secondly, by international conventions, such as the Berlin Act of 1885. But in the latter the conventional duty of a state is directly toward its co-signatories. The history of the Congo State from beginning to end is an exposition of this principle. The conception of mandates under the League of Nations is similar. Mr. Snow, however, from his survey of international practice finds that there has been established "as a fundamental principle of the law of nations that aboriginal tribes are the wards of civilized states" (p. 191). With this conclusion dissent must be voiced. It would seem that such a fundamental principle must rest upon the "law of nature"—which has ever been an attempt to clothe moral duties with legal effects. Disagreement with the major premise of the work does not imply a failure to recognize its merits. International law, viewed as the body of rules which ought to govern states in their mutual dealings, sets forth the ideal and points the way. Mr. Snow never loses sight of an ideal, that of guardianship in the interests of justice and humanity. He is more interested in the record of effort made by civilized states to protect and raise up aboriginal peoples than in those which tell of dispossession, exploitation, and cruelty.

One may, therefore, whatever his theoretical prepossessions are, consult the work with profit if in search of information upon the attitude taken by civilized states toward less cultured peoples: that of the United States toward the Indians, of Great Britain toward the natives of Australia, of the powers generally toward the African tribes before and after 1885. Written before the advent of the mandate idea in the League Covenant, it foreshadows such a principle. In this respect Mr. Snow

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played the rôle of a prophet. He had an ideal of international legal duty. It has in part been realized in Article XXII. of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

J. S. Reeves.

Manual of Collections of Treaties and of Collections relating to Treaties. By Denys Peter Myers, A.B. [Harvard Bibliographies, Library Series, vol. II.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1922. Pp. xlvii, 685. $7.50.)

This volume, compiled by the corresponding secretary and librarian of the World Peace Foundation, will be of considerable use to those interested in the various forms of international contractual and conventional relationship, from early times to the outbreak of the World War.

Besides a bibliography of "Collections of Treaties", which is excellent, the plan of the *Manual* embraces recent developments in the field of international organization; for in addition to the sections dealing with Bibliographies, General Collections, Collections by States, and Collections by Subject Matter, there is one of 150 pages relating to International Administration. Here are listed publications bearing on or emanating from a large number of international bureaus, unions, commissions, etc., created by treaties or other kinds of international agreement. References are given to the pages of works in which the treaties constituting these organs may be found, and to their proceedings and reports, and related acts and documents. Many of the items in this section are government documents, peculiarly difficult to find without a guide.

The title-page, preface, and table of contents (but not the index, as is stated in the preface), are given in French as well as in English. The two versions are printed on opposite pages. This duplication of matter seems superfluous to the reviewer, and the arrangement certainly makes the long and detailed table of contents (pp. xiv–xlvii) very awkward to use. An appendix contains an interesting historical sketch of "The Publication of Treaties" (pp. 579–604), by the compiler.

The compiler's annotations to some of the thousands of titles listed are one of the most valuable features of the work. For the librarian as well as for the student, it will be very convenient to have these indications of the contents of each volume of some of the big collections of treaties. The notes regarding dates of various editions, and the exact references to the location of indexes in the long series, are also useful.

While the utility of the *Manual* and the great amount of work involved in its compilation are apparent, yet the book is open to criticism. The compiler has viewed his subject so broadly, or, it may be, so vaguely, as to attempt a bibliographical task that carried out to its logical completeness must have filled several volumes of the size of this. The compiler states in his preface that "The scope of the book is defined by the

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title". Now, the second part of the title, "Collections relating to Treaties", covers a vast number of historical works. A considerable number of these are mentioned, yet only a small proportion of the whole, and the selection seems quite indefensible. Moreover, many works which do not appear to be "Collections" are included. In illustration of this general defect, the subsection "Historical", in the section devoted to "Collections by States—Great Britain and Ireland", may be cited (pp. 194, 195). Only five titles are listed here, among them, *Calendar of State Papers, Spain*, and *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*. But why mention these and not *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series*, and *Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, and *Calendar of State Papers, Milan*? Why include Arlington's *Letters* to Sir William Temple, and not Temple's *Works* containing his letters, so important for an understanding of the Triple Alliance? Why select for inclusion *A Brief History of the War and Treaties in which England has been engaged from the Restoration of King Charles II. to the present Time* (1796, 62 pp.), and omit Thurloe's *State Papers*, for example?

The amount of space given to "International Administration", as well as the considerations referred to in the preceding paragraph, suggest that the compiler has more at heart the interests of the publicist than those of the historian. In any event, serviceable as the book will be, a clearer delimitation of its scope, and a stricter adherence to these limits, would have improved it.

FRANCES G. DAVENPORT.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Al-Hallaj, Martyr Mystique de l'Islam, exécuté à Bagdad le 26 Mars 922: Étude d'Histoire Religieuse. Par LOUIS MASSIGNON. In two volumes. (Paris: Geuthner. 1922. Pp. xxxii, 460; xii, 461–942, 106, 28 plates.)

Essai sur les Origines du Lexique Technique de la Mystique Musulmane. Par LOUIS MASSIGNON. (Paris: Geuthner. 1922. Pp. 304, 104, autographed texts illustrative of the lexicography.)

THIS is easily the most considerable addition to our knowledge of the theological and religious life of Islam that has appeared in the last thirty years, since Goldziher's *Muhammedanische Studien*. It is the biography of a single thaumaturgic, ecstatic mystic, a puzzle to his contemporaries, to all the succeeding generations of Muslim theologians, canonists, and mystics and to all Western students of Islam; but M. Massignon has so dealt with it as to make it an elaborate study of the whole course of the religious history of Islam in the first centuries and of the fundamental ideas of the mystical schools down to the present day. That is, it is really a study of essential Islam as we know it now and, for those who

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understand and can see below the surface, there are actions and reactions from this far-off tragedy still working in the governing ideas of the army of Kemal Pasha in present-day Anatolia. For in Islam, it is always to be remembered, no division can be made between church and state, the secular and the sacred.

In the *Essai,* after eighty-three pages of technical lexicography, come over two hundred, tracing, in detail not hitherto attempted, the sources and the different personalities and schools of Muslim mysticism down to the time of al-Hallaj in the third century of the Hijra. The biography itself contains the following chapters: I., translation of a "life" by his son and a chronological table to it; II., his years as a Sūfī disciple and his masters; III., his journeyings as a religious teacher of the masses; IV., his preaching at Bagdad and the charges of heresy and sedition against him; V., the accusation, the court of trial, and the individuals in the case; VI., the first and second legal processes and the final condemnation; VII., narratives and legends as to his execution; VIII., his status, since his death, in Islam with Sunnites and Shi'ites, canonists and theologians; opinions on his canonization; IX., his status with Sūfīs and in the different dervish fraternities; X., his legend with the learned and the masses; XI., sources and psychology of his mystical system; XII., his dogmatic theology; XIII., its legal consequences and the objections to it; XIV., his works; XV., bibliography—932 works by 636 authors. Of these chapters XII. and XIV. are, as is natural, by far the longest; chapter XII. especially is such a comparative and historical treatise on the systematic theology of Islam as we have hitherto lacked.

It will, of course, be evident that such a book as this is not for beginners in Islam. Some broad grasp of the nature and historical development of that attitude toward life is essential as a clue through the mass of details here accumulated. But the general student of Islam, whether interested in al-Hallaj or not, will find a large number of points in his subject here treated in detail for the first time. The tables of contents and the index of technical terms will be clues to these. Further, M. Massignon's treatment, both of al-Hallaj and of the broad history of Islam, shows three important characteristics which are of the essence of his book. One is the width of documentation which lies behind it. Since 1907 he has been occupied in gathering from manuscripts and from printed books, in the libraries of the West and of the East, the immense apparatus of his bibliography. This has enabled him to reconstruct schools of thought and to trace relationships which had almost vanished, and for al-Hallaj and his works to reach an accuracy of knowledge which no one had thought possible. Again, he has illumined and humanized the whole subject with philosophical and theological parallels. The development of theology in Islam has indeed run a course of the most startling similarity to that of Christendom, and the pragmatism of our own day appeared there in the eleventh century. Especially the mystical interpre-

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tation of Christianity has been used to make intelligible the position of al-Hallaj. And, thirdly, M. Massignon, a devout Christian mystic of the Roman obedience, shows a deep sympathy with and understanding of the workings and instinctive attitudes and reactions of the devout Muslim mind. This is a somewhat rare quality, in which even Goldziher was lacking, and it has enabled him to feel and state phenomena of the religious consciousness and to give them their due value. In this he has been aided by close friendship with Muslim scholars—theologians and canonists—and it is significant that his book is dedicated to the memory of Huysmans, to three Muslim friends, and to Charles Foucauld, a Christian hermit in the Sahara who was killed there in his hermitage (in the course of the war).

For any criticism of details, which would, of necessity, be highly technical, this is hardly the place.

D. B. MACDONALD.

A Short History of the British Commonwealth. In two volumes. By RAMSAY MUIR, Professor of Modern History in the University of Manchester. Volume I. *The Islands and the First Empire, to 1763.* (London: George Philip and Son. 1920; Yonkers, N. Y.: World Book Company. 1922. Pp. xvi, 824. 17 s. 6 d.; $8.00.)

THE story of the development of Great Britain and the British Empire has found another chronicler in the person of Professor Muir. Whether we regard what promises to be a work of sixteen hundred pages as a "short" history, or not, this volume evidences what has long been apparent to readers and users of text-books on English history—that it seems difficult, if not impossible, for the authors of such books to compress their material into a relatively limited space. This may be a measure of the subject, rather than of the authors; for the extraordinary spread of the inhabitants of the British Isles over the face of the earth, and the no less extraordinary spread of British institutions throughout lands of non-British nationality, have given an importance to the development of that people and those institutions far beyond their local significance, and correspondingly led to their more minute treatment, so that mere space seems to have become a secondary consideration with British historians.

There are three tests which may be applied to such a work as this, obviously intended as a text-book. The first is proportion; the second is style; the third is the matter. As to the first, the question of proportion is not without significance. This volume covers the period between the time when the British Isles were still connected with the mainland of Europe and the year 1763. The events from the geologic beginnings to the Norman Conquest fill some forty pages, which indicates, among

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other things, that Professor Muir is either not greatly interested in the Anglo-Saxons, or that he considers their contribution of no very great importance, or both. The period from the Norman Conquest to 1485 is treated in about 160 pages; that from 1485 to 1603 in 126; that from 1603 to 1688 in about 200; and that from 1688 to 1763 in some 300. It is thus apparent that the bulk of the volume is primarily concerned with what we call "modern" history, increasing in steady ratio with the centuries. This is a natural tendency of the times, though it may well be that it will change in another generation, as it has changed in the last.

As to the second qualification of this volume, the style, it may be said, once and for all, that it is a model of what such presentation should be for such a purpose. It is clear, direct, simple, explanatory. It leaves little to the chance of being misunderstood, or to the hope that the reader or student may possibly know more than we are tolerably certain from experience that he does know. There is none of the allusive quality which gives charm—and complexity—to Green; there is, on the other hand, little of the platitudinous, didactic quality which gives pain to the readers of some other manuals, and no vast array of names of minor politicians which both perplex and pain.

As to the matter, it is obviously quite impossible within the limits of a book-review to consider all the mooted questions which such a comprehensive survey raises. And it is equally difficult—as it is unfair—to select a particular period and deduce the general shortcomings of the whole volume, if such there be, from minute criticism of a cross-section which may not be a fair representative of the work as a whole. In general, it may be said, the statements of the author seem not only true, but judicious. While it is impossible that there should not be opportunity for specialists in particular fields to object to specific statements or judgments, the work represents the results of British scholarship with much accuracy. That very statement, indeed, involves certain limitations. Professor Muir seems not to have consulted—perhaps it would have been impossible—many of the numerous monographs on particular periods and events and movements and institutions whose history he relates; their inclusion would have given at least more minute accuracy, and perhaps more verisimilitude, to his narrative. This is notable, in the present reviewer's opinion, in the matter of the rise of parties and the evolution of the cabinet system.

For one thing, among others, the reader or the student must be especially grateful to Professor Muir. It is for his breadth of view and his many interests. Nowhere is there a more comprehensive statement of the many-sided development of the British, or as we say more commonly, perhaps less correctly, Anglo-Saxon, peoples, or more careful inclusion of the many threads from which the fabric of their life and thought has been woven. In this the author's interest in imperial history has played no small part; and the qualities which his earlier books

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revealed are still more evident here, qualities which partake both of statesmanship and philosophy, in its better and more practical meaning.

Bracton de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae. Edited by GEORGE E. WOODBINE. Volumes I. and II. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1915, 1922. Pp. xiii, 422; xi, 449. $7.50 per volume.)

DR. WOODBINE'S exactitude and skill in the editing of English legal texts of the Middle Age were proved many years ago by his *Four Thirteenth-Century Law Tracts* (1910). Medievalists have ever since been grateful to him for this edition of *Fet Asaver, Judicium Essoniorum, Modus Componendi Brevia,* and *Exceptiones ad Cassandum Brevia,* and for the valuable introduction to the tracts themselves. When therefore it was announced that Dr. Woodbine was at work upon a new edition of Bracton's treatise, there was unfeigned rejoicing among all legal and historical scholars whose studies lead them to the ancient law-book described so happily by Pollock and Maitland as the "crown and flower of English medieval jurisprudence". As long ago as 1872 Mr. Milman wrote "A Plea for a New Print of Bracton". The editions of 1559 and 1640 are in fact wholly inadequate to meet the needs of modern scholarship, disfigured as they are by many corruptions: and of Twiss's edition the less said the better. It is sufficient to recall to mind that it has been condemned as hopelessly bad by Maitland and every other recent student of Bracton. Maitland's judgment is in print; but the curious may also read many a remark—caustic, yet mingled with humor—pencilled by Maitland in his own copy of the Twiss, now in the Law Library at Cambridge. Maitland himself did much valuable work in preparation for the day when a new edition of Bracton's great law-book should finally appear: his *Bracton and Azo* and *Bracton's Note Book* are the priceless possessions of every searcher for the true text of the treatise itself.

The first installments of Dr. Woodbine's edition are proof positive that the right editor has at last come to the front; for the two volumes which now lie before me attest the fact that painstaking labor, deep learning in English medieval law, remarkable skill in the handling of materials, and scholarly accuracy in every point of detail, are all contributing their full share to the production of a sound and reliable text. Its appearance means that Bractonian studies are now entering upon a new and fruitful epoch; and the gain to scholarship resulting from such studies will be more and more apparent as the years go on and as many of the traditional errors in regard to the nature of the true Bracton, errors fostered by the old editions, gradually cease to have currency.

Dr. Woodbine's first volume deals with three main subjects: the manuscripts of the Bracton (pp. 1–20), the pedigree of the manu-

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scripts (pp. 21–311), and the *addiciones* (pp. 312–422). "Including those which are fragmentary, abridged, or incomplete", the learned editor tells us, "there are forty-six manuscripts of Bracton's treatise accessible to scholars, with two, possibly three, others in existence which are not accessible." One may agree with Dr. Woodbine when he says that as "the prohibitive fee of a guinea a day" is charged for consulting one particular manuscript, this manuscript is "rendered practically inaccessible"; and one finds it very difficult to grasp the fact that the present-day authorities of any library could be so ungenerous to scholars. Speaking of the three editions of Bracton's book that had been printed prior to his own, Dr. Woodbine says that the

> printed text of this work has been so far below the standard largely because the editors in their choice of manuscripts have shown little power of discrimination, and even less knowledge of the relationship of the different codices. Such knowledge could have come only as a result of a detailed study and comparison of all the manuscripts, and this, apparently, they did not undertake. Consequently it has come about that the main object of this [first] volume is to establish a pedigree which will clear up once and for all the question of the relation of the many Bracton manuscripts to one another, and show their relative value for purposes of text production.

Quite clearly the editor was right in adopting this course of procedure. Failure to attend to the matter of pedigree would have led to many faults of the kind well known to the reader of the earlier editions.

After minutely collating about forty copies, on the basis of selected passages, Dr. Woodbine comes to the conclusion that no existing manuscript can claim to be a direct copy from the original. One of the most interesting results which he now reaches is his disagreement with Maitland as to the place occupied by the Bodleian "Digby" codex. Maitland gave this particular manuscript a high—indeed a pre-eminent—place, holding that it had been copied direct from Bracton's own original (see *Bracton and Azo,* pp. 239–250). Dr. Woodbine now contends (see I. 68–91) that "there is no one manuscript so superior to all the others as to stand out apart from them as pre-eminent". "Be its ancestry what it may, [the Digby manuscript] most certainly is not a primary copy of the original *De Legibus.* Maitland seems to have begun to realize this fact [see *Bracton and Azo,* p. 248] before he had finished with [the Digby manuscript]." There are four families of manuscripts which Dr. Woodbine distinguishes; and he thinks that one of these can be traced back to a copy which had been made from an early, and not fully revised, draft of Bracton's own original manuscript.

Special attention has been devoted in the first volume to the very important subject of the additional passages, or *addiciones,* which make up so large a part of the printed text in the earlier editions. As the

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editor of the present work remarks, "the determination of just what passages are *addiciones,* and more particularly additional passages not written by Bracton himself, is one of the hardest problems connected with the re-editing of the treatise" (I. 312; see also Maitland, *Bracton's Note Book,* I. 26–33). "There is", in fact, to use Dr. Woodbine's words, "too much matter in the traditional text of Bracton." The study of this important problem of interpolations in the manuscripts is one of the most enlightening contributions which the present editor makes to the literature dealing with Bracton's text. Many a subtle cause of error has now been eliminated. To his lucid account of the whole matter Dr. Woodbine appends a useful "List of Additional and Doubtful Passages".

The second volume contains a trifle more than one-third (ff. 1–159b) of the Latin text of Bracton, the object of the editor being "to present, as nearly as may be, the text of the *De Legibus* as it finally left Bracton's hands".

> This does not at all necessarily mean [he explains] the making of what might be considered the best text from the standpoint of law or history or language, on the basis of everything and anything which may be found in any and every MS. . . . [The] original cannot be reconstructed merely by emendations and arbitrary selections from the variant readings. . . . [For] at least the larger portion of the text there [are] three principal traditions. It is on the basis of these traditions, and not on the readings of individual MSS., that the restoration of the original text must rest.

Eleven manuscripts have been selected, and used throughout, as representing the three main text traditions. From time to time reference has been made to other manuscripts, but no attempt has been made to give all the variant readings in all the manuscripts collated. Dr. Woodbine quite rightly holds that "the recording of all the variant readings of all the manuscripts used would make an unwieldy mass of immaterial facts as unnecessary as it is undesirable". In so far as the manuscripts have permitted it, Dr. Woodbine has preserved the text of the printed editions. In general, however, the present text is very unlike the earlier ones: and on many matters scholars will be obliged to compare the corresponding passages in the several editions. The famous passage (f. 107) in which Bracton introduces the *Quod principi placuit* is an illustration in point (see Maitland, *Bracton's Note Book,* I. 4, n. 2).

These two volumes contain but a part of the whole work as projected by the editor. Later volumes will present the remaining portions of the Latin text, an English translation of the whole of the Latin text, an editorial commentary, and an introduction. One feels that Dr. Woodbine is acting very wisely in reserving his own commentary and the introduction for the end of the whole work. An editor's

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knowledge of his text constantly increases as he proceeds with his work; and he is best qualified to write these particular parts of his work after he has completed his minute study of the text as a whole. All of the remaining volumes in Dr. Woodbine's edition of the *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae* will be eagerly awaited by scholars. They must, however, be patient. It takes time properly to edit Bracton.

H. D. HAZELTINE.

The Jesuits, 1534–1921: a History of the Society of Jesus from its Foundation to the Present Time. By THOMAS J. CAMPBELL, S.J. (New York: Encyclopedia Press. 1921. Pp. xvi, 937. $5.00.)

THE tritest, but truest, word ever penned about the Society of Jesus is that of all institutions created by human genius, the Jesuits have been the theme of the most high-flown panegyric and of the bitterest invective. Admirers of the famous company have placed it at the head of the greatest productions of the human mind. They give to it superiority over every other similar body of men for learning, polity, and religious zeal. Enemies of the society—and it has never lacked potent enemies both within and without the Roman Catholic Church—maintain that it is the most fatal of all human social groups; that it is fatal to morality and fatal to organized society and government, with aims which are to be attained only by overweening ambition and fraud, and by odious and criminal means. Books for and against the society abound in whole libraries. There are students to-day in many parts of the world who, when they think of the blackened ruins of the Louvain Library, recall the east wing that stretched along the Vieux Marché, crowded from floor to ceiling with thousands of volumes written for and against the Jesuits. Yet, in all this actually vast literature, there are few general histories of the society. Orlandini attempted it in the sixteenth century. Others in the following centuries made a sorry venture at the task. But it was not until Crétineau Joly published his panegyric on the society in six volumes (Paris, 1844–1846) that a complete story of the Jesuits was available. Father Luis Martín, general of the Jesuits from 1892 to 1906, decided to remedy the need all felt of a complete history of the order on a scale commensurate with the greatness of the subject. A sort of "literary syndicate", as Father Campbell calls it, was created. Father Astrain was assigned to write the history of the society's work in the Spanish assistancy; Father Fouqueray the French; Father Tacchi Venturi the Italian; Fathers Duhr and Kroess the German. The English-speaking assistancy was assigned to Father Thomas Hughes, an English Jesuit belonging to the American province. Many volumes have already appeared from the pens of these members of the society. That they are unequal in value, dissimilar in treatment, and at variance in the

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interpretation of the sources, goes without saying. Combined, they do not present a complete history of the order.

It was to satisfy the ever-pressing demand for such a work that Father Campbell set about his self-appointed task. Father Joseph Brucker anticipated him by a little more than a year in his volume *La Compagnie de Jésus, Esquisse de son Institut et de son Histoire, 1521–1773,* published at Paris in 1919. First among his brethren in English-speaking lands to venture into the field of general Jesuit history, Father Campbell has presented us with a readable, attractive, and at times fascinating, account of the society during the past four hundred years of its existence. His work suffers by comparison with that of Father Brucker, but, for the public he is addressing, his method and particularly his style are all that could be wished. To those, however, who expect to find in his pages a treatise in which the eulogy of Crétineau Joly is imitated or in which the hydra-headed criticisms against the society are discussed and answered, Father Campbell's work will prove to be a disappointment. The volume is to be weighed not by these canons, but solely by the limitations the author has himself placed upon his subject. He has written for the type of inquirer described in his preface. Some years ago, when on his way to a general congregation of the society, Father Campbell was asked by a fellow-passenger aboard an Atlantic liner, what he knew about the Jesuits. He proceeded, with all the wealth of knowledge and experience his half-century in the Jesuits had brought him, to explain the aims and the activities of the society. After a few minutes, he was interrupted by his inquirer with: "You know nothing at all about them, sir; good-day!"

His volume of almost a thousand pages proves at every turn that few members of the society are so thoroughly cognizant of its past. The story, as he tells it, has none of the cold restraint of modern historical scholarship. It rushes on like a flood, carrying the reader hither and thither, but always abreast the stream. It flashes along and across the canvas as a kaleidoscope, dazzling the eye in its brilliancy, but with the accent and the emphasis of the dramatic effect always true to historic fact. It is a gallant story, nobly told, and told by a courageous veteran who has not feared to turn the light of criticism upon the sad as well as upon the serene in the long history of Ignatius's sons.

P. Guilday.

Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620–1686. By George Pratt Insh. (Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson, and Company. 1922. Pp. x, 283. 12s. 6d.)

Quite apart from its value as a contribution of exceptional merit to the history of Scottish emigration to America in the seventeenth century, Mr. Insh's volume is significant as marking a new and growing interest among British writers of to-day in the history of their colonial

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past. Furthermore, both because the work is written by a Scotsman from the standpoint of Scotland, and because to a considerable extent it is based upon materials in Scottish archives, from which frequent quotations are made, it has a racy flavor all its own and a character essentially and peculiarly Scottish. No one but a Scotsman could create the atmosphere that distinguishes this book.

Though by instinct and tradition the Scot was a wanderer, he was not a seafarer, and his ventures overseas lacked purpose and continuity. Fisheries and a mercantile marine, the two essentials of a seafaring life, were in the seventeenth century of but slight importance in Scotland, where the one was retarded by "persistent neglect" and the other was stunted by "too officious supervision". Hence colonization never became a part of the national life in Scotland as it did in England, and efforts to settle in America in the seventeenth century were spasmodic and in every instance ended in failure. Though many of the enterprises here described in *Scottish Colonial Schemes* (an infelicitous title) are familiar to students of our colonial history, some are new, and, for the first time, all of them are given with great wealth of evidence and in their proper setting as phases of Scottish history—an achievement which gives Mr. Insh's book a high place in the literature of colonization. Many know something of Scotland's attempt to colonize Newfoundland in 1620, under the leadership of that redoubtable sea-dog and colonizer, Captain John Mason; more have heard of Sir William Alexander, "the man of contemplation who became by misadventure, as it were, a man of action", and gave to Nova Scotia its name; some have had knowledge thrust upon them of the Scots in East New Jersey and South Carolina; but we venture to believe that few have ever been told of the Lochinvar who came out of the east and with the aid of Lord Ochiltree sought to plant a New Galloway on the island of Cape Breton. Fewer still have traced the history of the period from 1632 to 1682, here called "The Years Between", when the only Scottish connection with the plantations was through transported prisoners, wandering traders, and a few regular settlers, and when Scotland, irritated because England by her navigation acts barred her vessels from traffic with America, initiated her policy of retaliation and was so determined to enter upon an independent commercial and colonizing career of her own as to undertake the ventures to New Jersey, South Carolina, and Darien. The chapter dealing with these years is one of the best in the book.

Mr. Insh has told us the story of Scottish emigration to America in the seventeenth century and he has told it well. We hope that when he shall have completed his promised volume on the Darien disaster, he will be interested to pursue his subject into the years following the Union, even on to that eventful period after 1760, when there began the Highland migration which lasted until the Revolution and brought thousands of Scotsmen to America and the West Indies.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

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Histoire de la Régence pendant la Minorité de Louis XV. Par Dom H. Leclercq. In three volumes. (Paris: Édouard Champion. 1922. Pp. lxxxv, 525; 531; 509. Set 60 fr.)

This marks, if we mistake not, a new venture on the part of a scholar long pre-eminent in another though not unrelated field. Hitherto it has been ecclesiastical rather than secular history, and particularly the earlier history of the Church, that has engaged the attention of Dom Leclercq. In that field he has been indefatigable in research and prolific in publication. There is scarcely a year during the last twenty that has not witnessed the appearance of a volume from his pen or under his editorship. His contributions to Christian archaeology, martyrology, and liturgics have laid the whole world of scholarship under tribute. Now he turns his studies in another direction and presents us with a history of the Regency, the most comprehensive and adequate since that of Lemontey, which appeared some ninety years ago.

Three stout volumes for eight short years; so many pages for so brief a period! But there are years and years; and these years were compact with more than ordinary events and pregnant with momentous issues. In the history of France the Regency was no mere episode. On politics, finance, diplomacy, literature, arts, manners, and morals it left an indelible impress. Even though it may not have been, in the epigrammatic phrase of Michelet, "tout un siècle en huit années", it liquidated one age and precipitated the germs of another. It innovated and experimented, flouted tradition, and indulged license. "Ce fut une ivresse de liberté, une frénésie de critique, une jactance, une fanfaronnade, une provocation et comme un pavoisement de paradoxes" (I. lxvii). "But frivolous, licentious, and skeptical, it was more and better than that; it marked the reawakening of political life" (III. 442). It stimulated the appetite for change and novelty; it released a spirit that, once set free, was never again taken captive, nor wholly suppressed. Though not a revolution, it set the stage for the Revolution to come and was itself the prologue.

Hence it deserves minute study. And a more minute study than that of the learned Benedictine it would be difficult to imagine and unreasonable to demand. With prodigious industry and meticulous thoroughness every vein of a seemingly inexhaustible mine of materials—archives, memoirs, journals, correspondence—has been explored and exploited. Every fact has been tithed, and the product is a narrative circumstantial and detailed to the last degree, an account in which, with the regularity and exactness of a reporter, events are recorded day by day, sometimes even hour by hour, as in the case of the last illness of Louis XIV., where every breath and every word of the dying monarch is noted and set down (I. 33–95).

The scale and method will hardly appeal to those who prefer their history "concentrated" and "generalized" and who are easily surfeited with

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minutiae. But for such as have sound teeth and good digestion and a lusty appetite for facts a voluminous work will prove a feast, and this very superabundance of particulars and details a crowning excellence. Dom Leclercq is right—a king who takes a long time to die may not be despatched with indecent haste, disposed of by a mere *obiit*; a garrulous courtier may not be cut short; nor gossip, which is by nature expansive, unduly compressed; nor may a pompous procession be hustled along at a quickstep; nor the tortuous ways of diplomacy made straight—none of these things may be done without risk of distortion and misrepresentation. "All trifles!" Yes, but it is largely to such "unconsidered trifles" of incident and circumstance that historical portraiture owes whatever of faithfulness, lifelikeness, and warmth it may possess. Dom Leclercq's work is a portrait, not a mere silhouette; and a portrait requires many a stroke of the brush and a feeling for color as well as a sense of line. A better word perhaps were "panorama", or, better still, "the French scene". For here are depicted all aspects of life, political, economic, social, intellectual, religious, and all types, noble, cleric, burgher, peasant. This *comédie humaine* is enlivened by many a graphic tableau—the *Lit de Justice* of 1718; the coronation of Louis XV.; the Rue Quincampoix at the height of the speculation fever; Paris *en fête*; pest-stricken Marseilles; and darker scenes, bacchanalian revels and obscene orgies, which, to quote the author, "ne pourrait être écrite qu'en latin" (II. 209), and which, if they must be described at all, from a sense of obligation to the truth, are better depicted in "couleurs adoucies". The Regency may have been rotten, but the Regency was not all of France; and Dom Leclercq would not have us lose sight of that other, larger, nobler France, sober, industrious, keeping the even tenor of the well-tried ways, and preserving, in spite of cynicism, infidelity, and immorality, its ancient virtues—faith, loyalty, honesty, good sense.

The diplomacy of the Regency receives a very considerable share of space, nineteen chapters being devoted to the Triple Alliance, Quadruple Alliance, and other foreign relations. Five chapters are taken up with the war with Spain; eight, with the finances and the System of Law; six, with the Councils and the struggle with the Parlement; three, with the controversy over the bull *Unigenitus*; and four, among the most illuminating in the entire work, are devoted to a survey of industry and manufactures, the arts, sciences, and letters, religious opinion, and the general state of society.

One service in particular will command the gratitude of every historical craftsman, *viz.*, the extended and incisive critique of the sources and literature of the period (I. lxx–lxxxv), which the author modestly calls only an introduction and a clue. Among the historiographers of the Regency, he awards the palm to Lemontey, whose work is of the kind that "one corrects and completes but does not supersede". Saint-Simon he holds "an artist but in no sense an historian . . . an inimitable portrait-

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ist, but as incapable of understanding great affairs as he is unqualified to describe them", superficial, biassed, self-contradictory, calumniator and sycophant by turns, convicted of exaggeration, deceit, deliberate falsification—in a word, a proven liar (I. lxx–lxxii). Lemontey, too, has his prejudices and writes with a caustic pen; but between Lemontey and Saint-Simon there is "la même distance qu'entre une malice et la perfidie" (I. lxxii). Duclos is merely an imitator and copyist, and his memoirs little more than an ornate abridgment of Saint-Simon. Marmontel and Capefigue hardly merit serious notice. Among numerous memoirs, high value is ascribed to those of Villars and Torcy (to the latter especially for the light they throw upon the diplomacy of the Regency). Among journalists, the place of honor is assigned to Dangeau, the chronicler of the court and high society. But a unique value also attaches to the journals of Buvat, Marais, and Barbier, the chroniclers of the Third Estate, the "first reporters" (I. lxxvi–lxxviii). The value of a good deal of the correspondence is specious and greatly overrated; but an exception must be admitted in the case of the letters of Dubois and of Alberoni, which are of incalculable importance.

If thoroughness of investigation, amplitude of treatment, and felicity of style are dependable criteria, Dom Leclercq's work has every prospect of being regarded for many years to come as the standard, definitive history of the Regency.

THEODORE COLLIER.

The Later Periods of Quakerism. By RUFUS M. JONES, M.A., D.Litt., D.D., Professor of Philosophy in Haverford College, U. S. A. In two volumes. (London: Macmillan and Company. 1921. Pp. xxxvi, 540; vi, 541–1020. 30 s.)

WITH these two volumes, Professor Jones completes the task upon which he has been engaged for fifteen years of writing a history of the people called Friends, or Quakers, beginning with their relation to Christian mysticism in general, and the Spiritual Reformers of the sixteenth century in particular, examining in detail the circumstances of their first appearance in England, and reviewing their history in England and America up to the close of the nineteenth century. One may perhaps question whether a comparatively small and obscure company of Christians deserves so elaborate a treatment until he recalls such names as John Bright, Elizabeth Fry, and John G. Whittier, and realizes the influence, quite disproportionate to its numbers, which this group of Christians has exercised in human affairs. In addition, the story is interesting to a student of Christian origins and development, for it shows in miniature, and as it were in diagram, many phenomena and tendencies exemplified in the larger and longer history of the Church, and also to a student of mysticism because it has to do with an organized group of mystics continuing through several generations, with quite exceptional inbreeding,

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so presenting a corporate mysticism in marked contrast with the individualism traditionally associated with mystical character. Undoubtedly, therefore, the task was well worth doing and Professor Jones, who has borne the laboring oar, is to be congratulated upon the completion of an undertaking happily conceived and admirably executed.

The two volumes immediately before us are devoted to the history from 1725 to the close of the nineteenth century. After the original and creative impulse had spent its force, and its novelties had became conventionalities, Friends gave up their hope of a spiritual conquest of the world and were content to become a "peculiar people", preserving their traditional ways of speech, dress, and behavior and cherishing a mysticism of the Quietistic type which, however, as Professor Jones rightly observes, often gives rise, in individuals, to most extraordinary enterprise, courage, and self-sacrifice. To this end they established a rigorous discipline, compacting the group within and designed to protect it against influences from the world without. But the industry and frugality in which Friends were trained brought prosperity, and prosperity broke down the partition wall between the Society and the world. Through these openings (of different sort from George Fox's), currents of contemporary life affected Friends, two of which were especially important—Deism and Wesleyanism. The Deists pointed out defects and faults in the Bible, particularly in the Old Testament. They set in the focus of attention, for example, the cruelties of the Canaanitish wars and declared them inconsistent with the character of God, who is said to have ordered them. To Friends, with their testimony against war, this was a vital point. There seems to have been no thought of abandoning their traditional testimony in favor of peace, but what then should be their attitude toward the Bible? There were plainly three possibilities: adherence to the primitive doctrine of the inner light, leaving its relation to the Scriptures vague and undefined; emphasis upon the authority of Scripture even to the point of discrediting the inner light, combined with apologetic devices to explain away Old Testament difficulties; an explicit turning away from the Bible as an authority in the religious life. Of these three possibilities, the first would naturally have been adopted in accordance with the traditions of Friends, but the influence of Evangelicalism was strongly in favor of the second. It can hardly be denied that this was contrary to the creative principles of Quakerism. John Wesley's doctrine of man's natural depravity and total separation from God by a gulf which only the atonement of Christ and the regeneration of man can bridge was wholly incompatible with George Fox's teaching of the divine light in every human being working with the saving power of a living Christ in the hearts of men. But some of the most prominent and prosperous Friends were Evangelical, and this tendency prevailed. Then appeared one of the perils in the organization which Friends had painstakingly elaborated. There can be no heresy where there is no orthodoxy, and effective ortho-

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doxy depends upon an organization with a collective judgment and power of extrusion. Friends had built up a machinery for heresy. By a perfectly natural process, zeal for Evangelicalism drove to extremes those who were inclined to the third possibility. Heresy had arisen and schism was menacing. This threat of separation was fulfilled in America, where the radical or liberal influence seems to have been stronger than in England, perhaps because of the conditions which simultaneously were bringing about a similar separation in the old Congregational order of New England. Probably the Evangelical influences were also stronger on account of the greater prominence of revivals here than in England. At any rate there came here the separation between the Orthodox and the Hicksites and then between the Gurneyites and the Wilburites. This is the unhappy story which Professor Jones tells with wealth of detail and sympathetic comprehension in these two volumes.

The chief criticism one is inclined to make is that the author has not been wholly successful in his sincere endeavor to guard against the danger which he clearly foresaw of losing a proper sense of proportion. It is easy to forget while reading his vivid pages that the stage is larger than the place where Quakers stand and the spot-light falls. Again, we could well have spared the chapters on Bright and Whittier, although good in themselves, for glimpses into the daily life of Quaker homes. Such books as Tucker's description of a Quaker boyhood in New Bedford or the anonymous account of home life among Friends in southern Indiana give a more intimate and lively idea of what Quakerism actually was than can be gained from the volumes of Professor Jones, admirable as they are.

The plan of the series carried the history only to the end of the nineteenth century, but Professor Jones more than intimates that the first quarter of the present century is likely to prove of exceptional significance for Quakerism on account of the operation of still another tendency which appeared in the last century, namely the humanitarian. A suffering Saviour implies a suffering world which sorely needs salvation. Evangelical doctrines may seem narrow and hardening, but the Evangelical spirit is broadening and "tendering". By it, Friends were led into active participation in great social reforms, philanthropic zeal has kept stiffening theology warm and plastic, and Friends responsive to changing social conditions. During the Great War it inspired, and in the present distressing conditions abroad it is still inspiring, relief work which is not merely bringing the separated bodies of Friends nearer one another in co-operative activity, but is also commending Quakers to the world, particularly to Europe, in a hitherto unprecedented way. From the furnace of the Great War, the Friends emerged not only with no smell of fire on their garments, but with raiment savory with the fragrance of loving human kindness. To-day a great and effectual door is open to the Friends and Professor Jones is evidently persuaded that they will pass through it to more abundant life.

W. W. Fenn.

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The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, 1783–1919. Edited by Sir A. W. WARD, Litt.D., F.B.A., and G. P. GOOCH, M.A., Litt.D. In three volumes. Volume I., 1783–1815. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. xiii, 628. 31 s. 6 d.)

A BRITISH work prefaced by a special allusion to the interest of the late Lord Bryce and by a testimonial to his services in drawing "closer the bonds of friendship, based on mutual understanding, between a great kindred nation and our own", at once inclines to favorable comment in America. Still more the unusual attention given to British relations with America will create interest. It has not always been recognized that British foreign policy after 1783 continued to regard America as of importance even in the intensities of European rivalry. In each of the first four chapters of the present volume, 1783–1815, policy toward America plays its due part, and the concluding chapter is wholly devoted to that policy. In general the events are correctly stated, the diplomatic exchanges adequately presented, and just conclusions drawn, but it is evident that there is not that familiarity with the American point of view, either at the time or in American historical writing later, which we should expect from one of our own scholars. It is nowhere made clear, for example, that one profound difference in British view—and a difference largely affecting British foreign policy *after* the American Revolution—from the American view, was Great Britain's refusal to accept the American ideas as to the nature of the empire and the relation of its distant parts to the mother country. Mr. J. H. Clapham in chapter I. explains admirably the causes of British refusal to admit America to that participation in West Indian trade which she had enjoyed before independence, but does not appreciate the deeper issue. Yet J. Q. Adams, reviewing in mind at a later period the long friction over West Indian trade, could write of the American retaliatory act of 1818 that it constituted "a new declaration of American independence".

Chapter V., the American War and the Treaty of Ghent, by Professor C. K. Webster, is excellent in general analysis and brings out well the British policy, especially laying emphasis on the point that "a dispute with America was still regarded as an almost domestic question in which Foreign Powers could have no concern". But there is little evidence of research in hitherto unused materials and the author is a bit careless in statement. On page 522 he asserts that "two reasons alone" prevented war before June, 1812—the wrongs inflicted by France on America and the latter's weakness against Britain's power. But on page 527 he states, more accurately, the contending forces in American policy and notes the anti-warlike tone of the commercial classes of New England. It is surely exaggeration to intimate that the United States finally went to war on right of search "alone" (p. 525)—or even primarily for that cause,

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if our own historians are correct. Nor were "all classes of the nation" ever "drawn into a common hostility" (p. 526).

These are, however, minor criticisms. In the main the treatment of British policy toward America is clear and orderly and lays proper stress on relative incidents and motives. In his preceding chapter, on the Pacification of Europe, the author is more at home and his treatment excellent.

Naturally the bulk of this volume is concerned with European relations. Here the narrative is fully supported by citations to Foreign Office and similar archives, and here also is developed a more consecutive, thoughtful British foreign policy. An introductory chapter by Sir A. W. Ward runs to 140 pages and covers the period from the Norman Conquest to the Peace of 1783 with America. It is but a digest, or summary, but is put together with the writer's accustomed literary skill and abounds in brief, yet apt and striking, characterizations of men and events, making of a digest a marvel of exact and readable conciseness. Mr. Clapham's chapter I. carries the story to 1792, on the verge of the war with France, and exhibits much scholarship, though with less documentary reference than might have been expected and serviceable. The reviewer, on the basis of his own slight study, might pick a quarrel with Mr. Clapham on the score of his assertion that "In the last resort the [foreign] policy was Pitt's", and that when Grenville succeeded Carmarthen, Pitt's incursions into the proper field of the foreign secretary were lessened only because of a "complete identity of views" (p. 158), but there is no need, since Professor J. Holland Rose, in the succeeding two chapters, quietly passes to a careful and constant use of "Pitt and Grenville", and of "the men who guided" foreign policy. On occasion Professor Rose clearly indicates a victory for Grenville's policy over that of Pitt.

One-third of the text of this volume (nearly one-half if the introductory chapter be excluded) is contributed by Mr. Rose in chapter II., the Struggle with Revolutionary France, and chapter III., the Contest with Napoleon. The allotment of space presumably indicates editorial purpose to emphasize this period of foreign policy and here, in fact, is the real cream of the volume. It is a difficult matter, when engaged in minute study of diplomatic documents, seeking in presentation to convey exact meanings by condensed statement or by partial citation, to escape from a mere dry-as-dust account of the shifts and manipulations of the diplomats themselves. Basic principles of foreign policy, the persistence (or lack of it) of statesmen in pursuing them, living characterizations of nations and of individuals—these are apt to be lost sight of by the historian of diplomacy, or at least to be obscured in the maze of interminable despatches. It is especially in the work of Mr. Rose that the possibilities of really illuminating diplomatic historical writing are exhibited, though not, perhaps, with that completeness which characterizes his earlier work on the same period, where he had no limitation of space. His chapters

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are fully supported with exact citations and his skill in weaving into the narrative extracts from letters and despatches is unusual. It is noteworthy that the Dropmore Papers continue to be used as a veritable gold mine of side-lights and explanation on points otherwise obscure. But this praise of Mr. Rose's work should not exclude appreciation of the work of the other contributors, all of whom evince a determination not to get lost in their facts. Mr. Clapham's analysis of the commercial treaty of 1786 with France, for example, is presented with great clearness and at the same time offers opportunity, in connection with other British-French relations of the time, for a characterization and estimate of Vergennes, that places him unusually high as possessing a sense of the *international* interests of mankind, even when in daily contact with the purely selfish nationalistic point of view of most European statesmen, including the British.

A brief review forbids attention in detail save for the few purely American points already indicated. This first volume well satisfies the purpose of the editors to prepare a work which shall present a connected narrative of details of foreign policy, make clear what that policy was, and "vindicate" for it a "claim to consistency". The work should be immensely useful and the remaining volumes will be awaited with interest.

E. D. ADAMS.

The Fiscal and Diplomatic Freedom of the British Oversea Dominions. By EDWARD PORRITT. [Publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1922. Pp. xvi, 492. 12 s. 6 d.)

To trace the various stages in the development of the fiscal freedom of the British colonies, and their gradual acquisition of the corresponding rights to deal directly with the foreign countries whose economic activities most intimately affect them, is a very interesting and, at the present time, very appropriate task. Such may be taken as the ostensible object of the volume before us. The volume, as a whole, affords abundant evidence of patient and voluminous research in official records. Probably that portion which will prove of most permanent interest is the appendix of some sixty pages, containing a number of interesting and typical documents connected almost entirely with the development of Canadian fiscal policy. Both geographically and racially, however, and especially in domestic and foreign relations, there were very great differences between the conditions of the British North American provinces and those of other portions of the empire. But concentration on the North American colonies has not resulted in a clearer or more accurate presentation of the conditions and principles affecting Canadian development. Indeed it is difficult to avoid the impression that the author is largely arguing to

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somewhat narrow, foregone conclusions as to British economic and imperial policy. That the British government fell into many errors in dealing with the trade relations of the colonies, and frequently adopted mistaken policies with reference to their administration, is not at all difficult to prove. But wisdom in foresight is much rarer than wisdom in retrospect. In many features of colonial expansion, while one may safely condemn the outcome of this or that policy, it is not so easy to maintain that, all things considered, the opposite policy would have been any more successful, or that a purely altruistic attitude, in face of the uncertainties of the future, would have been any more advantageous for either the colonies or the mother country than that of self-interest on both sides.

The attitude of indifference toward colonial interests, which is dwelt upon in the volume as largely as the attitude of domination, had of course much to do with the lax enforcement of British colonial policy. Yet it was as much objected to in the colonies, from their frankly self-interested point of view, as were certain features of active interference in other imperial moods. One finds but little evidence in the volume of an understanding acquaintance with the British colonial policy in contact with the daily operations in the colonies themselves. Thus the British government is constantly condemned for not granting rights and privileges, in connection with self-government in trade and politics, long before the individual colonies were able to maintain domestic tranquillity in the face of bitter racial or sectional strife and the antagonisms of political and economic interests. To maintain in law and policy a virtual monopoly for British goods appears, on the surface at least, a drastic exhibition of fiscal tyranny. But a study of actual conditions reveals, in the first place, that most of the goods thus apparently forced upon the colonies were the cheapest and best anywhere available and would have been preferred in any case; and in the second place, where goods, either imperial or foreign, were of more suitable quality or could be supplied more cheaply through other channels, little difficulty was experienced in procuring such goods, despite the drastic laws and regulations to prevent this.

Notwithstanding the defective organization of the materials assembled and the endless repetitions of the same details and assertions, which render a perusal of the volume somewhat tiresome, much valuable material is here brought together and sources of information indicated which will be of undoubted assistance to students following up the subject in independent studies.

Histoire de France Contemporaine depuis la Révolution jusqu'à la Paix de 1919. Tome IX. *La Grande Guerre.* Par HENRY BIDOU, A. GAUVAIN, CH. SEIGNOBOS. *Conclusion Générale.* Par E. LAVISSE. (Paris: Hachette. 1922. Pp. 560. 30 fr.)[1]

[1] An elaborate index of the two series *Histoire de France depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Révolution* and *Histoire de France Contemporaine* has been published in a volume of 359 pages, forming vol. X. of the latter series.

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THIS volume brings to a fitting close the *Histoire de France Contemporaine*, the series of three great co-operative histories which have been appearing in France during the last quarter of a century, and the life-work of the distinguished scholar who was the chief inspiration and guiding spirit of all these undertakings. That the book has been made worthy of the place it occupies is a remarkable achievement.

Each of the other eight volumes of the *Histoire de France Contemporaine* was the work of a single author. For this volume there were four contributors. Auguste Gauvain wrote the chapters dealing with the diplomatic history of the war, Henry Bidou those on military events. Professor Seignobos contributed two chapters upon the effect of the war on French life. The writing of the conclusion was the last piece of work done by M. Lavisse.

Except for the conclusion by M. Lavisse and two or three short passages, the entire volume is strictly confined to the five years between the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand and the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. Attention is concentrated almost exclusively upon diplomatic and military matters. The description of the effect of the war upon the life of the French people by Professor Seignobos is limited to twenty pages. Most of that scant allowance is used for war-time methods of government, public finance, and the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France. Only four pages are given to the social transformation wrought by the war. This marked departure from the method of the earlier volumes, in which detailed accounts of changes in social conditions constitute a distinguishing and highly valuable feature, can probably be attributed to lack of space and the difficulty at this early date of estimating correctly such recent changes. The brevity is understandable but much to be regretted. A more extensive treatment by Professor Seignobos, even if less complete and much less definitive than the corresponding chapters in the earlier volumes, would have been most welcome.

The contributions of M. Gauvain upon the diplomatic side of the war, together with a number of closely related topics, and of M. Bidou upon military operations are of nearly equal length, but of quite different scope. M. Gauvain writes about the diplomatic history of the war taken as a whole, M. Bidou confines himself closely to the military operations in which the French took part and limits his narrative almost exclusively to the fighting in France and Belgium.

The account of diplomatic history is divided into two portions, separated by the narrative of military events. Book I., in three chapters, deals with the preliminaries of the war from June 28 to August 5, 1914. Book III., in eight chapters, describes the efforts of the two combinations to gain additional allies, the entrance of Turkey, Italy, Bulgaria, Rumania, the United States, and Greece into the war, the Russian Revolution, the peace intrigues during the war, ministerial changes in the leading countries, the armistice, and the work of the Peace Conference. In the han-

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dling of all these difficult topics M. Gauvain exhibits at their best the exceptional qualities of mind and manner which for many years have made his articles in the *Journal des Débats* probably the most valuable interpretation of international affairs appearing in any daily newspaper. Everywhere he shows a nearly unerring instinct for the really significant aspect of an event or situation, a large knowledge of men and conditions, an unusual spirit of candor, a fine sense of proportion, and a remarkable lucidity of statement. Adhering closely to the narrative form, he seldom turns aside for the expression of condemnation or approval. It is apparent, nevertheless, that he does not think that a historian ought to refrain from indicating his own opinions. He believes that the leaders of the Central Powers were responsible for the outbreak of the war, that the government of Italy acted in a thoroughly selfish spirit throughout the struggle, that the policy of England and Russia in the Balkans and the Near East was usually unwise and often selfish. He is particularly severe upon King Constantine. To the reviewer most of his interpretations seem to be substantially sound. Among the exceptions which must be made, however, are his account of the American election of 1916 (pp. 382–383) and his assumption that the German peace move of December, 1916, was the cause of President Wilson's peace effort a few days later (pp. 415–417). Rumania's connection with the Triple Alliance through the secret treaties of 1883 and 1888 has been overlooked (p. 341). Ramsay Macdonald was not a member of the British Cabinet in 1914 (p. 57). The account of the Peace Conference is surprisingly slight, consisting of little more than a summary of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles.

Book II., by M. Bidou, is a concise, well-organized, and interesting account of the military operations on the west front. Despite some faults, chiefly of omission, it seems to the reviewer likely to prove the best brief presentation of the present state of knowledge on the subject which has yet appeared. Candor, and concentration on the most significant points, are its distinguishing characteristics. The chapters upon 1915, Verdun, the first German offensive of 1918, and those upon the new methods and instruments of warfare are particularly good. The human side of the war is not as fully portrayed as might be desired. The leaders are mentioned, what they did is told, but there are no descriptions or estimates of the men themselves. There is no discussion of controverted points and but little recognition of varying interpretations. The equipment in the way of maps is inadequate. There are only seven pages of maps, all in black and white, and usually with two or three maps to a page. The design and execution are good, but the scale is so small that even these maps have only a very limited utility.

The death of M. Lavisse, which occurred only a few days after this volume came from the press, adds a pathetic interest to the remarkable essay upon the future of France which forms the conclusion, not merely

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of this volume, but of the whole history and even of the life-work of its distinguished author. It exemplifies the rare combination of penetration, sagacity, clarity, and eloquence, united with a wide range of exact knowledge and untiring zeal for the welfare of his country, which won for M. Lavisse the reverence of both scholars and public. Its dominant note is optimism. Without overlooking or underestimating the difficulties which France must confront, M. Lavisse tells his countrymen that nature and history alike offer them many reasons for optimism and hope. A reading of this essay will aid anyone who desires to gain a better understanding of France.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

The War in the Air: being the Story of the Part played in the Great War by the Royal Air Force. Volume I. By Sir WALTER RALEIGH. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1922. Pp. xix, 489. 21 s.)

THE invention and rapid development of the aeroplane introduced a new element in the art of war, the great importance of which is only dimly appreciated. In its first war this new "branch of the service" developed, in England at least, into an independent service co-ordinate with the other two. There are enthusiasts who claim that it has made one of those services, the navy, obsolete. So far no one has critically examined the achievements of the air services in the war and estimated their effect on military events. Indeed no one could, because the records of the various air forces are not yet available and because the large number of personal and squadron histories that have been published by aviators are so fragmentary and so narrow in scope that they can only be used by a discriminating author to amplify the official records.

The greatest value of the present work is that it is one of the series of histories of the war prepared by direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence and based, therefore, on the official British documents. It is of particular interest to get this account because it is generally admitted by everyone, including the Germans, that the British air forces were the most powerful on the front when the war ended.

This first volume covers only the first five months of the war. About one-third of it is devoted to a very interesting account of the beginnings of aviation, which, however, adds nothing to what has already been known and published. The second third of the volume, which is concerned with the infancy of the British air service, contains many details that are new but none of great significance. It shows that the authorities and higher officers were averse to spending money on aviation and were only induced to adopt a modest programme by the efforts of individual officers and citizens who realized the military possibilities of flying or who were frightened at the great advances being made on the Continent.

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It shows the first and unsuccessful attempt to have one flying corps for both the army and the navy, unsuccessful largely because of jealousy.

The rest of the volume contains an account of the experiences and accomplishments of both the Royal Flying Corps and the Royal Naval Air Service up to January, 1915. When it is remembered that the air force accompanying the original expeditionary force consisted of four squadrons of twelve machines each, that the machines were slow, clumsy, and without cameras or guns, that experiments with wireless were just beginning, it can be appreciated that decisive results were not to be expected. And yet the new service proved its value from the first. On the 22d of August aerial reconnaissances informed Sir John French that large German forces were moving from Brussels toward Grammont in what seemed to be an enveloping movement aimed at his left wing. In those days reports from the air were looked upon with grave suspicion and Sir John French remained at Mons, where he was forced to fight a battle in a perilous position against superior forces. These first months not only proved the value of aeroplanes in reconnaissance, but saw the beginning of the great work they were to do in directing artillery fire. Efforts at fighting in the air were also made and, though ineffectual, they showed the possibilities and led to a demand for fighting planes, a demand that was to increase as long as the war lasted.

The chief defect of the book is that it does not tell enough of what the French and Germans were doing. Practically no mention is made of the part played by their air services, and yet they were so much better prepared in the air, as on land, that their experiences affected the future of the British air force more than its own. Like most official histories this one shows a very sympathetic treatment of the subject. The mistakes pointed out are softened by extenuating circumstances and the good qualities displayed are never slighted. The author, late professor of English literature at Oxford, reveals an attitude of hero-worship on some occasions which he undoubtedly would not have had if he had been young enough to have been an active participant in the fighting. Because of his death during the past year the remaining volumes will have to be completed by some one else.

W. S. Holt.

La Russie des Tsars pendant la Grande Guerre. Par Maurice Paléologue, Ambassadeur de France. Tome I., *20 Juillet 1914–2 Juin 1915.* Tome II., *3 Juin 1915–18 Août 1916.* Tome III., *19 Août 1916–17 Mai 1917.* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1922. Pp. 379; 347; 357. Each 15 fr.)

M. Paléologue is a consummate literary artist. His charming studies of Dante, Alfred de Vigny, and Vauvenargues, as well as of the art of Rome and of China, have led one to suspect it. His history of

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Russia during the war confirms it. It is a fascinating account, day by day in diary form, of what he saw, said, and did as French ambassador at St. Petersburg. It has had the success of appearing in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (beginning January 15, 1921, with an autobiographical note, unfortunately not reprinted); but some passages occur in the book which were omitted from the serial publication.

The opening chapters describe vividly the visit of Poincaré and Viviani to Russia, and the diplomatic crisis following the assassination of Serajevo. They add some picturesque details to our knowledge of those tragic days, but not as much information as one might wish nor as much as the ambassador must certainly have possessed. There is a vagueness on just the points on which one most wants to be informed, such as the activities of the Russian militarists; nor is mention made of facts contained in certain telegrams which were suppressed from the original French Yellow Book and Russian Orange Book, but which have since been published. Eye-witnesses have described the feeling of resignation and sadness with which the people in France accepted the inevitability of war with Germany; the French ambassador in Russia, on the contrary, writes in a spirit of exultation at its approach, almost as one who had contributed to it. He describes the gala dinner on July 22 at which the Montenegrin princesses told him joyously that their father had written them that there would be war within a month. Two days later, he went to the railway station to say good-bye to Izvolski, who was returning to France; on the platform, lively with the crowd of soldiers and officers, "We exchanged rapidly our impressions and came to the same conclusion: Cette fois, c'est la guerre."

The later chapters note briefly the changing fortunes on the military fronts as the author heard them at the Russian capital. Many interesting pages are naturally devoted to diplomatic negotiations. Japan is offered the German possessions in China if she will join the Entente. England concedes the Straits to Russia. In a long audience the tsar points out to Paléologue how Germany ought to be dismembered and southeastern Europe reconstructed. And there is a long account of the negotiations by which Rumania was finally persuaded to cast in her lot with the Entente. The theme, however, which runs most persistently and interestingly through the volumes is the malign influence of Rasputin. The rumors about this occult figure, his increasing influence over the tsarina and in the appointment and dismissal of high officials at court, and the growing uneasiness with which he was regarded by Russian patriots can be followed in M. Paléologue's pages perhaps more clearly than anywhere else. His suspicions and fears are confirmed by the recently published letters of the tsarina to her weak husband.

One of the things which adds vividness to M. Paléologue's diary of events is the fact that much of it is thrown into dialogue form. There are pages of conversations with Nicholas II., Sazonov, Witte, and innu-

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merable officials and charming ladies. One wonders, however, whether these conversations are always reproduced closely from detailed notes written within a few hours after they took place; or whether sometimes the French ambassador, like Thucydides, "made every speaker say what seemed to [the writer] most appropriate on each occasion".

The third volume is perhaps the most interesting and seems to adhere more closely to an actual diary of daily events. It reveals day by day the tragic progress of the impending Russian Revolution. M. Paléologue records his increasing distrust of Sturmer, of the malign influence of Rasputin over the tsarina and of the tsarina over the tsar. Sturmer, he thinks, was ambitious to preside over a general peace congress which should sit at Moscow and settle the war without victory in 1917. Then comes a vivid description of Prince Yussupov's assassination of Rasputin—the ineffectual poisoned wine, the revolver shots, the monk's momentary recovery, dripping with blood, before he was finally despatched and dumped into the Neva. The possibility of the tsar's dethronement by the empress's clique, or by the grand dukes, or by the Duma, was often noted by M. Paléologue, but when it actually took place it came as a surprise and a relief, inasmuch as Nicholas seemed to have fallen so much under the influence of his wife, of Protopopov, and of Rasputin's phantom power. On one occasion Paléologue departed from the strict etiquette which confines an ambassador to the discussion of foreign affairs and tried to open the tsar's eyes to the dangers of the internal situation, but he met with no response from the weak ruler. After Nicholas's abdication, it appeared that those who had begun the revolution could not control it. There arose the dispute between Miliukov and the Soviet as to the statement of Russia's foreign policy: Should Russia continue to fight for victory and Constantinople, or open negotiations for peace with no annexations and indemnities? For weeks Paléologue tried to strengthen Miliukov in the former policy, but without success. He was not even supported by his own government at Paris, which sent out the French socialist, Albert Thomas, to supersede him. The French government regarded Paléologue's usefulness as at an end in view of his close relations with the fallen tsardom and his lack of sympathy with the new régime in Russia. So, Paléologue left Russia in May, 1917, with the most pessimistic forebodings of the anarchy to come.

Nothing in the French Revolution is more interesting than these pages which foreshadow the oncoming revolution and violence in Russia. To the French ambassador it was a terrible tragedy, not only because of what it threatened to all his aristocratic acquaintances in Petrograd, but because it meant that France might lose an ally and an army on Germany's eastern front.

As the author has drawn excellent pictures of so many Russian leaders, touched upon so many diverse subjects, such as Russian music

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and drama, society and philosophy, and suggested so many interesting analogies between the Russian Revolution and events in France in 1789, 1830, and 1848, it is a great pity that no index is provided to the rich material scattered through these three volumes.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Works of Samuel de Champlain. In six volumes. Reprinted, translated, and annotated by six Canadian scholars under the general editorship of H. P. BIGGAR. Volume I., 1599–1607. Translated and edited by H. H. LANGTON and W. F. GANONG. [Publications of the Champlain Society.] (Toronto: the Society. 1922. Pp. xxi, 469, xi, with portfolio of plates and maps.)

THE advantages of co-operation in historical undertakings have never been more satisfactorily demonstrated than in the record of the Champlain Society, which has now entered upon the fulfillment of the task to which it committed itself in adopting its name. The first of the six volumes which are to contain *The Works of Samuel de Champlain* justifies all the expectations of those who have watched the development of the society through its probationary period.

The society was organized by the only homogeneous group of American historical students developed during the present century. Full of keen enthusiasm for the history of Canada, they started out to raise a scholastic crop that should match the product of the northwestern wheat lands. Their field had lain fallow since Parkman portrayed its picturesqueness and Winsor uncovered its ore beds for erudition. This enthusiasm met with quick response from their fellow Canadians who were developing its resources in other ways, and the society, under the presidency of the leading banker of Toronto, entered upon its career with the certainty of cordial support which guaranteed the payment of whatever the work might cost.

The publication of a new edition of Champlain's writings was the most obvious duty of the society which took his name as the definite embodiment of its purpose and the limitation of its field of interests. With this in view, those who directed the policy of the society went about the task, not directly, but by laying down a foundation of editorial reputation which should guarantee the definitiveness of the main undertaking when it came to fruition.

They began with Lescarbot, which was translated by W. L. Grant, in consultation with H. P. Biggar, who prepared the introduction. Professor Ganong brought together the results of his Acadian researches in editions of Nicolas Denys and of le Clercq which leave nothing to desire. Less familiar ground was cleared by Professor Munro, who

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edited a collection of documents of the seigniorial period; Colonel Wood brought to light the naval side of the British conquest of Canada; Mr. Doughty edited Knox's *Journal* of the campaigns of 1757–1760; and Mr. Tyrrell edited the *Journals* of David Thompson. Each of these works was worth publishing on its own account, and each adds to a knowledge of the history of North America. Taken together, they accomplished much more than this, for the society's publications welded together its group of active editorial workers and accustomed them to the routine of co-operation.

The proof of this pudding is the first volume of the society's *Champlain,* the work on which has been in hand ever since its programme was definitely laid down. The volume contains the narrative of Champlain's earliest known voyage of 1599–1601, the *Des Sauvages* of 1603, and the first section of the *Voyages* of 1613, covering the years 1604–1607. The first two are translated and edited by Mr. H. H. Langton, who, although his name does not appear among those mentioned in the preceding paragraph, has had a full share in the previous accomplishments of the society. The first book of the *Voyages* is edited by Professor Ganong, and Professor Biggar as general editor is responsible for the whole. None of these, nor the others who have been named, has acquired a reputation for intellectual standing markedly above his academic contemporaries. But they have produced a series of books which for solid excellences comes very near being the best that has been done in America. The reason is not far to seek, for every one of these volumes contains evidence that the editor has had much more than the proffered help, the sympathetic criticism of all the others, than which no incentive is quite so potent in producing superior results.

Examining the latest volume somewhat carefully, one gets a feeling, not only that the work has been skillfully done, that details have been looked after, references followed up, and pains taken to avoid slips, but that the whole is the work of all concerned in the undertaking, of whom the responsible editors are merely the representatives upon whom fell the bulk of the labor. This shows most concretely in the cases where the editor happens to disagree with the opinion of a collaborator, oftenest perhaps with that of his chief, the general editor. The good-natured casualness with which the notes record the reasons for both opinions in these cases would not surprise one in a London publication, but if there has been anything quite like it in any recent production in the United States, it has escaped this reviewer. It echoes both seriousness and loyalty to personal and professional standards, but, much more, perfect sympathy and cordial friendship.

The early West Indies voyage is printed from the manuscript copy which is supposed to be that made by the author, although the editors do not enter upon any discussion of this rather obvious question. As they worked with a photographic copy of the original, it should be rela-

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tively easy to answer. The manuscript is one of the treasures of the John Carter Brown Library. It contains sixty-two tinted drawings, and the general editor's introduction states that the library trustees permitted the volume to be taken to Boston "so that reproductions in colour might be made". As issued, in a portfolio, these illustrations are printed without the colors. This is no great loss, as the facsimile plates admirably represent all the details of the original drawings. The coloring was not carefully done, and does not give the impression of having been done either within sight of the localities portrayed or directly from sketches made on the spot. It is unfortunate that the society did not follow the example of the Hakluyt Society in its edition of this same manuscript, as the general editor evidently expected would be done, and include at least one facsimile by a modern color-process, so that those who use the volume could see for themselves that these monotone prints serve the purpose of scholarship quite as well as if they were in color.

The reader who is curious to do so is provided with material for an opinion on the question whether the manuscript of the West Indies voyage is that of the author, in a facsimile map which is included in the portfolio. This is on the whole the most important single feature of this publication, being a reproduction of Champlain's original map drawn in 1607, portraying minutely the observations made by him in that year, covering the whole coast line from the neighborhood of Halifax southward to Chatham on Cape Cod. Less valuable, by abstract standards of historical importance, but of greater interest to more people, is a series of carefully studied maps drawn by Professor Ganong and printed alongside Champlain's little sketch maps, translating the latter into terms of actual geographical features, on the basis of Coast Survey charts and personal observation. G. P. W.

A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686–1776. By LAWRENCE C. WROTH. (Baltimore: Typothetae of Baltimore. 1922. Pp. xiv, 275. $7.50.)

THE publication of the *Maryland Archives* prepared the way for this book. Using these documents for foundation, Mr. Wroth, assistant librarian in the Enoch Pratt Free Library at Baltimore, has made a useful contribution to our knowledge of colonial printing. The historical part of the volume fills 150 pages, followed by one hundred pages more in small type describing bibliographically 392 Maryland imprints from 1689 to 1777. Full collations are given by sheet-marks and pagination, with the sizes of paper in inches and of printed matter in millimetres. The location of each original is shown by initials of the library.

The first printer, William Nuthead, after an unsuccessful attempt to carry on his profession at Jamestown in Virginia in 1682–1683, under the direction of John Buckner, was obliged by opposition of the authorities there to remove his press to the city of St. Mary's in Maryland,

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where under pay of government he operated from about 1685 until his death early in 1695. After removal of the capital to Annapolis, license was granted to Dinah Nuthead, William's widow, in May, 1696, to print law-blanks and other legal forms. The next press was set up at the expense and under the direction of William Bladen at Annapolis in May, 1700, with Thomas Reading as printer, and the first things printed by him were Dr. Bray's sermon before the assembly on May 5, an act for the establishment of religion, and a folio volume of *Maryland Laws*, all in 1700. After Reading's death in 1713, there was no official printer in the colony until John Peter Zenger of New York was employed, from April, 1720, to August, 1721. Following him came William Parks in 1726, Jonas Green in 1738, and his wife Anne Catherine Green and her two sons, William and Frederick, 1767 to 1777. A short account is given of Thomas Sparrow, the first Maryland engraver. The first press at Baltimore was set up by Nicholas Hasselbach in 1765. He was followed, after an interval, by Hodge and Shober in 1772, William and Mary Goddard in 1773, Enoch Story, junior, in 1774, and John Dunlap in 1775.

The subject-material consists largely of official publications. The collected acts of the assembly, the annual session-laws, the votes and proceedings, and the governors' speeches, take up a considerable part of the record, and serve as a source-index to the legislative history of the colony. One whole chapter treats of the Rev. Thomas Bacon and his edition of the laws. Of newspapers, the *Maryland Gazette* was begun by Parks at Annapolis in 1727, and issued irregularly until 1734; it was revived by Green in 1745, and carried on by him and his descendants until 1839. At Baltimore, William Goddard started in 1773 the *Maryland Journal,* which was continued with ability by his sister Mary Katherine Goddard. Their activities in the literary and political life of the period are treated separately in an entertaining chapter. Another Baltimore newspaper, *Dunlap's Maryland Gazette,* was published from 1775 to 1778. In literature, attention may be called to the titles of Richard Lewis's versification of *The Mouse-Trap,* 1728, and *Carmen Seculare,* 1732; also to Ebenezer Cook's *Sotweed Redivivus,* 1730, and *Maryland Muse,* 1731. The descriptions of the editions of Daniel Dulany's *Considerations* on the Stamp Act are of special interest. There is a good index.

WILBERFORCE EAMES.

The Life and Times of John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore (1735–1815). By PETER GUILDAY, Professor of Church History in the Catholic University of America. (New York: Encyclopedia Press. 1922. Pp. xv, 864. $5.00.)

THIS volume covers a field that was fairly well explored by John Gilmary Shea more than thirty years ago, but a great mass of new material since brought to light in the files of Propaganda, in Hughes's *Documen-*

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tary History of the Jesuits, in Griffin's *Historical Researches,* in the voluminous Carroll-Plowden correspondence, and in diocesan archives, especially of Baltimore and Westminster, has been used by the author to very good purpose. The result is a history of the Catholic Church in the United States from the middle of the eighteenth century to Carroll's death in 1815.

John Carroll, a Maryland gentleman and a Jesuit of the English province, was teaching in the college of Liège when driven by the suppression of his society in 1773 to return to America. Here he held himself aloof from his brethren, whom he describes to Plowden as swayed by "ignorance, indolence, delusion" (p. 164).

These twenty-two priests, all former members of the Society of Jesus, asked only to be let alone until the society should be restored. They neither desired the assistance of other priests nor the presence of a bishop, lest their tenure of the missionary property be jeopardized. Meanwhile, the country was settling up and many Catholics were coming, for whose wants there was neither sympathy nor provision. The result, of course, was confusion and disorder everywhere.

Almost half of this very long volume is devoted to the controversies and hesitations that preceded and accompanied the establishment of the first bishopric. Dr. Guilday gallantly defends every position taken by this obstinate and suspicious little group. As a consequence he seems to regard Propaganda as "a foreign power" (p. 168), and draws an amazing distinction between the Holy See as "the centre and source of all Catholic government" and its Congregation of Propaganda which is "a foreign official ministry" (pp. 233–234).

Yet his documents show that Propaganda acted with great consideration, patience, generosity, modifying its forms to suit the demands of the Americans and practically letting them have everything they wanted.

Much is made of what is called French interference in the establishment of the hierarchy. An exchange of views in 1783 between the nuncio at Paris and Cardinal Antonelli based on some conversations with Vergennes and Franklin and the Bishop of Autun, the minister of ecclesiastical benefices, becomes a plot that thickens when the Bishop of Autun is discovered to be Talleyrand! Unfortunately for the "intrigue" Talleyrand did not become bishop of Autun till the spring of 1789. Moreover it is sheer nonsense to say that Franklin, who understood very little about ecclesiastical government, could have ever—even if there was anything to the "plot"—considered the appointment of a Catholic bishop in the United States a "partial compensation" to France for its participation in the Revolution (p. 182).

The author has lost a capital chance to make a very useful study of the anti-Irish bias of the Maryland Catholics—Carroll himself not excluded. Smyth is dismissed as an ingrate, Archbishop Troy as a meddler, and all the rest as "rebels". In 1836 Bishop England, smarting under

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his Baltimore experiences, will say, "It is one thing to be a Roman Catholic in this country and another to be an Irish Roman Catholic." Perhaps that is the key to many of Carroll's administrative difficulties. It is a pity that in a work of great merit like this, which will surely be a source-book for the history of this period, a more rigorous critical method was not employed. Arguments, reduplication, and irrelevant matter removed, the volume would lose half its size and gain twice its value.

The Causes of the War of Independence: being the First Volume of a History of the Founding of the American Republic. By CLAUDE H. VAN TYNE, Professor of History in the University of Michigan. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1922. Pp. x, 499. $5.00.)

THIS book, carrying the story of the American Revolution through the outbreak of hostilities at Concord and Lexington, is the first of a projected series of three volumes which together will portray the founding of the American republic to 1789. Had the present volume appeared twenty years ago, it would have created a sensation and have marked an epoch in American historiography. Appearing, however, in the year 1922, its chief service is to correlate and synthesize the results of special researches into Revolutionary history made by a host of students in the intervening period, and, by showing the essential harmony of their conclusions, to give to their findings a new validity. The general reader and the busy teacher will thus find this volume a convenient and trustworthy short-cut to an extensive and somewhat specialized literature. The author's attitude throughout is even-tempered and unruffled and shows no traces of the stormy controversies which have been raised in recent years by certain well-meaning men who seemed to fear that a dispassionate disclosure of the facts surrounding the nation's birth would be destructive of American patriotism.

As the foregoing suggests, the major conclusions of the work rest upon the labors of others. Thus seventy-four different foot-notes contain citations to a single monograph; and two other studies are referred to as frequently as twenty-five times each. The author's selection of secondary works seems at times capricious. For instance, Wallace's *Henry Laurens* receives repeated citation, whereas Gipson's valuable *Jared Ingersoll* is not once mentioned. The author has made use of the familiar collections of printed sources, though chiefly for purposes of illustration. Only three citations to colonial newspapers are made in the entire volume. Although the author alludes to his researches in English and French archives, only thirty-two foot-notes of the one thousand and forty contain references to foreign manuscript material. Further analysis reduces these citations to twelve different documents; and of this number, at least four might have been consulted in the form of transcripts in the Library of Congress. There is apparently only one citation to manuscript material found in the United States.

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The author's individuality is best expressed in chapters XII. and XIII., wherein he discusses those underlying divergencies in social, cultural, intellectual, and religious training and ideals which since early colonial days had tended to create misunderstanding between the colonists and Britain. In later chapters he never loses sight of these influences and he shows their bearing upon the development of each new crisis. He makes no mention, however, of the working union of the Presbyterians and the New England Congregationalists formed in 1764, which Galloway declared was a factor of prime importance in promoting the independent spirit.

Students of the Revolutionary period would have been grateful if Professor Van Tyne had supplemented the investigations of the research specialists of recent years by exploring some of the unknown territory which still lies between the newly marked trails. The activity of British trading bodies and of the absentee West Indian planters merits careful inquiry for the light it is almost certain to throw upon the successive acts of Parliament concerning America in the period 1763–1776. The whole matter of colonial paper currency, both from the American and British points of view, forms another fertile field for investigation. The administrative activities of the American Customs Board require exhaustive study before we can begin to write definitively of the causes of the colonial revolt. The complex framework of the popular party, with its interrelated parts and differentiated functions, needs much further analysis if we are to understand how an energetic minority succeeded in committing a majority of the population to armed revolt and independence. A thorough examination should also be made of the methods of anti-British propaganda employed by the popular leaders. Such an inquiry would touch lightly upon the constitutional grievances recited in state papers and the more serious pamphlets, and concentrate upon the appeals to passion and prejudice to be found in broadsides, bits of popular doggerel, patriotic songs, caricatures, newspapers, slogans, emblems, etc. The author does well to lay stress on the pulpit as an agency of agitation, but I believe he is mistaken in repeating the usual opinion that pamphlets were more potent in shaping colonial opinion than the newspapers. Thirty-nine new papers were established during the period of agitation, most of them by radical sympathizers; and there is plenty of evidence to show that the popular leaders were masters of the technique of newspaper propaganda.

To enter very fully into criticism of details would give a false idea of the value of the book. However, a few things need to be noted. Professor Van Tyne pictures British commercial control as being more repressive in its actual regulations than most recent students have believed; and he is in error in stating that colonial traders and planters were permitted to "sell only to England" (p. 66). He discusses the royal review of colonial legislation without knowledge, apparently, of

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Dr. E. B. Russell's exhaustive treatise on this subject (see p. 150, note). At the same time he ignores the control of American legislation exercised by the king in council through appeals from the colonial courts. Here, rather than in the former case, do we have a true analogy to the action of the Supreme Court in annulling legislation (pp. 151–152). The author's use of the term "Loyalist" is frequently puzzling when applied to individuals and groups prior to the momentous year 1774. Who were not loyalists in that period? The author's statement of the terms upon which the port of Boston might be reopened under the statute of 1774 is only partly correct (p. 393). The exemption of South Carolina from the non-exportation regulation of the First Continental Congress was probably omitted in the interests of compression (p. 442), but thereby the author neglected a fine opportunity to reveal the mutual suspicions and the clash of competing economic interests involved in the carrying-out of the radical programme. Of the typographical errors the most serious are those involving an incorrect citation of pages or other data in foot-note references, as on pages 146, 361 (fourth note), and 370 (fourth note).

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER.

E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company: a History, 1802–1902. By B. G. DU PONT. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1920. Pp. 196. $3.00.)

VERY few of the great business enterprises of the country have remained long under the management and control of their founders, but to this generalization E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company furnishes a notable exception. Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, student of philosophy and literature, pupil of Quesnay, friend of Turgot and councillor of state, was the active, vigorous forebear of a long line of descendants who have carried on this concern. The original idea was for a land development and trading company with a capital of four million francs each, most of the company's activities to be in Virginia, but with an office in New York.

A series of unforeseen difficulties prevented the carrying-out of the first plans, as well as many of the other varied ideas of du Pont de Nemours, but the keenness of young Eleuthère Irénée du Pont, his son, at that time only twenty-eight years old, led to the formation of a powder-manufacturing company, the total capital available at the outset being $23,000. In order to meet the difficulties presented by the differences between French and American corporation law two companies were formed—Du Pont de Nemours, Père et Fils et Cie. of Paris, and V. du Pont de Nemours and Company of New York. They were ready to sell powder in the spring of 1804.

From that time until the close of this history in 1902, the story is one of ups and downs, gains and losses. Explosions occurred from time

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to time, stockholders in France became impatient, collections were often slow. Yet the project was on the whole a paying one, even in the earlier years. During the period 1804 to 1809, inclusive, sales amounted to $243,554.79 and profits were $43,613.68. Just what deductions were made before arriving at this amount is not entirely clear from the figures as given, but the gains were satisfactory.

Among the interesting features may be mentioned the contention of the author, supported by extracts from the files of correspondence, that the company did not make as much money during the war as in time of peace. Demands for peaceful uses of powder are at any rate more numerous than we often realize, and the outbreak of war frequently means the cessation of orders from many sources. Thus during the Civil War the orders for blasting and sporting powder from the Southern and Southwestern states were lost, while much export trade also disappeared because of the fear of seizure at sea. There were difficulties also in shipping to the miners of the Western coast. As a result new factories sprang up, and for a long time were serious competitors. Then there was the slowness of the government in settling accounts, the occasional movement for a government-owned-and-operated powder factory, the importance of watching for inventions and improvements in powder-making, the altering needs of warfare, and the importance of watching closely the general business situation.

The story is a fascinating one, and ends shortly after the change from a partnership to the corporate form of organization in 1899. By this time the business had grown to large proportions, and control was exercised over a considerable number of companies scattered through the country. When in January, 1902, Eugene du Pont died, there was doubt as to what course to follow, and for a time it seemed that control would pass from the du Ponts. Family pride, however, was a spur, and in March, 1902, a new corporation known as E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company was formed, with T. Coleman du Pont as president and with others of the family holding the remainder of the important offices. The properties were said at that time to be worth $12,000,000.

The history is well told and of compelling interest. One wishes that it were continued to the present, with an account of the great expansion that has occurred during the last twenty years.

ERNEST M. PATTERSON.

The Trans-Mississippi West (1803–1853): a History of its Acquisition and Settlement. By CARDINAL GOODWIN, Ph.D., Professor of American History in Mills College. (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1922. Pp. xiii, 528. $3.50.)

THE scope of this book is indicated by the second half of the title. There are detailed accounts of the diplomatic negotiations for the ac-

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quisition of Louisiana, Texas, and the Southwest, and for the settlement of the northern boundary of the United States. Equally detailed are the descriptions of numerous exploring expeditions and of many local settlements. The book ends abruptly with 1853 and, of necessity, leaves many questions "up in the air".

The whole book leaves the impression that there is little connection between the history of the Northwest and that of the Southwest. The first four chapters, covering the Louisiana Purchase, early explorations, early settlements, fur trade, and commerce, and chapter VII. on the later explorations treat the West as a whole, but the other nine chapters are devoted to particular sections of the country and show no relationship between these sections. Two of these chapters are on Texas, three on Oregon, one on Iowa and Minnesota, one on the Great Salt Lake Basin, one on the settlement of California, and the last relates to the diplomacy of the Mexican War and Gadsden Purchase.

The language is clear and simple. Sometimes the author gets buried in details that apparently lead nowhere. There is slight attempt to follow chronological order, and different chapters cover the same period sometimes with almost the same point of view. The effort to treat explorations separately from trade and settlement accounts for many repetitions. Thus in the chapter on the fur trade there is an account of Astor's operations on the Pacific Coast (pp. 119–124), and in the chapter on early claims to Oregon there is another account (pp. 215–219).

There are some noteworthy omissions. In spite of the great attention given to explorations there is no mention of the romantic exploits of Colter, and no reference to the *Travels* of Maximilian, Prince of Wied, nor to the great expeditions of the Hudson's Bay Company brigades. Except in a quotation of a brief summary by Chittenden there is no mention of the discovery of Yellowstone Park, of South Pass, or of the Great Salt Lake. Nor in the account of missionary activities of the Northwest is there any mention of Father De Smet.

In the acquisition of Oregon, Hall J. Kelley is given a place of prominence formerly assigned by some writers to Marcus Whitman. In the account of the expeditions of the Flathead Indians to St. Louis in search of missionaries the author follows without question the early mistaken accounts which call them Nez Percés. He later wakes up to the fact that they were Flatheads, but makes no explanation of his previous error.

The narrative is generally at its best in the treatment of Texas and California. The account of the American fur trade, derived largely from the masterly volumes of Chittenden, is excellent. It does not attempt, however, to carry the story down to 1853. The description of the British fur trade is vague.

The author has undertaken a big task in an undeveloped field and has given it a scholarly and comprehensive treatment. In spite of some unevenness it is the best book on this period of Western history that has

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yet appeared. Its lapses are due not to lack of industry and preparation but to the scattered and fugitive nature of the material. Until there are enough monographs available for an exhaustive treatment of this subject, this book will remain indispensable to every student of Western history. The bibliographies are carefully selected. Combined with Paxson's book, it furnishes the best text for the whole field of the history of the West.

PAUL C. PHILLIPS.

James K. Polk: a Political Biography. By EUGENE IRVING MCCORMAC, Ph.D., Professor of American History in the University of California. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1922. Pp. x, 746. $6.00.)

THIS is a careful, exhaustive, and scholarly undertaking of enduring value. Professor McCormac set out to write a political biography—no easy task, for it involved the author in many self-limitations as to the personal side of his subject and tended toward the rewriting of the political history of the nation during the period of Polk's presidency. The author has managed to preserve the balance well. Polk's character and personality are set forth from various angles, though of course his *Diary* is the best exposition of his personal side, and the general political narrative only rarely (as in the case of the Scott-Trist imbroglio) strays far from Polk himself. The author's claim in the preface, to have shown Polk "to have been a constructive statesman—a statesman possessed of vision, sound judgment, and unusual executive ability", is on the whole justified. And it is but fair to add that Professor McCormac's conclusions are in a large way similar to those reached by Mr. Justin Smith, whose *War with Mexico* was published after the completion of the manuscript of the present volume, now printed after considerable delay. From now on it will take some courage to assail the results of these two works, based as they are upon close study of the enormous body of contemporary source-material. One may perhaps murmur a wonder as to how it came about that Polk's contemporaries erred so greatly in judgment. Was it blind partizanship, rational disagreement, or personal dislike which molded the opinion of Webster, Lincoln, Benton, and Calhoun? The phrase "Polk the Mendacious", we are reminded, was coined by Alexander H. Stephens, and not by Von Holst. Whatever the answer to this question may be, it is certain that Polk first and foremost lacked charm and magnetism. In no respect, either in conversation, in speech, or in writing did he ever display these qualities. With lack of charm in personality went lack of distinction in utterance. Polk was unimaginative even though he had vision, and while now and then he uttered something which he recorded as "jocose", no one has accorded to him a sense of humor. Again, with him partizanship was almost akin to a religion. As a disciple of Jackson, he regarded Federalism as an in-

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eradicable taint indicating an absence of moral sense. He was a good listener but intensely secretive, and being so, suspicious. His only interest was politics and his early association with politics in Tennessee and at Washington made him an expert, except as a judge of men, but he certainly was a politician first and a statesman afterwards. As a politician he was shifty (the adjective naturally accompanies the noun), yet when confronted with the responsibilities of executive power he became independent and to that extent constructive—a statesman if viewed in the light of the results of his four years of power. As one reads of his interviews with Atocha, and the direction in which those meetings led him, one cannot feel that his moral plane was very high, and in his attitude toward the spoils system, which filled him with wearied disgust, there appeared no appreciation of the essential political immorality of such a scheme. In that regard he was no better and no worse than his contemporaries, or, for that matter, than many of his successors.

Polk's political creed was, first, Jeffersonian: "No former President —not even Jefferson himself—had succeeded so well in putting Jeffersonian theories into actual operation" (p. 685). His place, prior to his accession to the presidency, was proudly acknowledged as one of Jacksonian discipleship, and the nickname of "Young Hickory" was accepted by him without demur. Yet as President he stood upon his own feet. "Polk was ever ready to pay homage to Jackson on matters of no vital importance. But when the occasion demanded independent action—as in the discarding of Blair and Lewis—he did not hesitate to follow his own judgment even at the risk of incurring the General's displeasure" (p. 567).

Polk's political life down to 1844 may be summed up in terms of Jacksonian discipleship. That and a certain training in political manoeuvring make up the record. He was certainly not unknown in 1844, but Professor McCormac in carefully presenting the earlier period does not show Polk as of more than very average attainments. One has no thrill over any utterance, or gratification over any indication of independent or courageous action. He was simply a Jacksonian lieutenant. The record of those years seems to be then a rather labored endeavor to answer the question "Who is Polk?" He had done enough to make him "available" and the Democrats proved by him, as the Whigs had by Harrison, that availability was the main test of a presidential candidate, and that the national convention, even with a two-thirds rule, was a machine to be manipulated by politicians for the choice of an available candidate.

Professor McCormac relies upon Bancroft's statement, quoted by Schouler, as to Polk's four ambitions—the reduction of the tariff, the establishment of the subtreasury, the settlement of the Oregon question, and the acquisition of California. Bancroft's statement has been criticized as very possibly prophecy after the fact. The *Diary*, plunging *in medias res*, when the Oregon matter was under consideration, throws

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no light upon the subject, but, whenever formulated, Polk put the performance through. The greatest factor in this accomplishment would appear to have been his determination, never altered, not to be a candidate for re-election. Never robust in health, he was no doubt strengthened in this decision by the strain of executive responsibility. He left office, like so many of his predecessors and successors, a disappointed man, but it was not the disappointment of frustrated ambition, but rather that he had been misunderstood and not appreciated. No occupant of the presidential chair worked harder, had less of recreation, or shifted fewer burdens upon his subordinates. He literally wore himself out in the White House. He was, then, devoted to his duties as President. That explains why he would have nothing to do with the presidential aspirations or intrigues of his cabinet members. His administration he hoped would perpetuate the supremacy of his party, but he would not permit it to be used for the advancement of future presidential ambitions, not even his own.

Such a picture, in part, Professor McCormac has given us. One misses certain side-lights which the views of Polk's opposition contemporaries might have given. The style, as befits the subject, is serious and rather heavy. The pages are too often marred by careless proof-reading. But these are not very serious objections. As a whole the work is extremely well done.

J. S. Reeves.

A History of California: the American Period. By Robert Glass Cleland, Ph.D. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. xiii, 512. $4.00.)

This book is a worthy second in the series in which Chapman's *Spanish Period* was the first. The two together give us the history of the great commonwealth on the Pacific in a form at once dignified, scholarly, and readable. We have travelled far, historically, from the archivistic compilation of Hubert Howe Bancroft and the brilliantly sophistical essay of Josiah Royce in achieving the sane, well-balanced, authoritative story of California as told in these attractive volumes.

I had the pleasure of noticing Chapman's book in an earlier number of this *Review*. Cleland's story begins where that left off, taking for the initial chapter the topic "Boston, California, and Canton", which symbolizes the American west coast fur trade. From this he proceeds, logically, to discuss the conditions of foreign trade in California, including the hide and tallow business, the overland fur trade and explorations of Jedediah Smith, Pattie, and their successors, the beginnings of regular overland immigrations, government explorations of Wilkes and of Fremont, the circumstances preceding the Mexican War, the conquest and annexation of California, the gold rush, and statehood.

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The more modern period, from the achievement of statehood, is particularly well treated since the author gives us not merely an account of mining life, and the vigilante episodes in San Francisco, stories that have become fairly conventional, but also a fresh and gratifying account of Southern California, the filibustering efforts with Sonora as their objective, politics, the overland mail and pony express, the railroad, "the discontented seventies", recent politics, and material progress—in short, a well-rounded view of the development of California down to our own day.

If one were asked to select from the thirty chapters those which make the most favorable impression, I would take the earlier and the later chapters. With a genuinely epic swing Mr. Cleland carries the reader through the romantic period in which the sea-otter, the ox-hide, and the beaver-skin were the prime attractions in California to American traders, and a good measure of the same enthusiasm is manifested in the last third of the book. The central portion possesses fewer marks of distinction but is still eminently respectable as a whole, and there are places in those middle chapters where the author is at his best both as interpreter of history and as writer. One of these is chapter XVII., the Gold Rush.

His treatment of Fremont is (to one who essayed a new interpretation of that episode eighteen years ago) particularly interesting because it reveals his complete emancipation from the authority of Bancroft and of Royce, whose combined influence distorted that feature of California history for a generation. I have seen nothing more gratifying than Cleland's discussion of Fremont's return from Klamath Lake and his gradual participation in the events resulting in the first conquest. He is less satisfactory on the earlier phase of Fremont's activity which ended in the fiasco of Gavilan Peak. Bancroft and Royce make these the proceedings of a madman or a villain. Cleland excuses Fremont's acts but does not explain them and, to me at least, shows needless timidity in dealing with the evidence which exonerates Fremont from wrong-doing. That evidence, in the form of letters from Fremont himself, and from Larkin, was printed immediately after the conquest. It proves to me that Fremont was engaged in a perfectly legitimate service as an officer of his government and also that a definite, though necessarily an oral, agreement had been reached with the California officials by which he was permitted to carry out his surveying plans. If that evidence can be impeached, it is the duty of a present-day writer to show how it can be impeached.

It would be pleasant, in connection with so good a book, to find it free from minor blemishes, but unfortunately I have not that felicity. It is an error to say that a battalion was recruited, for the California campaign in 1846, "from the Mormon immigrants in Salt Lake" (p. 218); and the proof-reader passed the name "Stephens" for "Stephenson". Eco-

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nomic historians would be glad to have the authority for the statement (p. 288) that lumber was sold for $500 per thousand feet. The omission of any reference to Oregon as a source of mining supplies (p. 306) is symptomatic of a disposition on the author's part to ignore the influence which the first American territory on the Pacific exerted, directly and indirectly, upon the history of California. There are too many evidences of careless proof-reading. No one enjoys reading "had came", "rates was reduced", and "tract" for track. We shall hope, however, that the manifold excellences of the book will so impress the public as to raise at once the demand for a new edition, when all of these trifling defects can be remedied.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

Japan and the United States, 1853–1921. By PAYSON J. TREAT. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1921. Pp. iv, 283. $2.00.)

INTERPRETING the East to the West and the West to the East is an enterprise upon which many writers, not a few of them Japanese, have been actively engaged since the Russo-Japanese War. Professor Treat in this book holds up the mirror for the Japanese to see themselves as *some* others see them. In twelve lectures delivered before Japanese university audiences he has outlined the history of their relations with the countries of eastern Asia and the United States.

The period between Perry's arrival and the abolition of feudalism in 1871 furnishes the subject-matter of chapters II. to V., inclusive, and in these chapters Professor Treat is at his best, for his information is most complete and his interpretations of the facts are least open to criticism. The events between the years 1871 and 1905 occupy the next four chapters; these are followed by two chapters devoted to the all-important years between the Russian war and 1919. The final chapters deal with the Peace Conference and the Japanese immigration problem on the Pacific coast. From this distribution of his space it is evident that the author felt it wise to devote nearly two-thirds of the book to the period antedating the war with Russia. In view of his audience this decision was at least discreet, but it also casts doubt upon the wisdom of publishing the lectures in America. To the majority of American readers the last two decades of Japanese history are of much more interest than the period before the Russo-Japanese War. What they wish to be informed about are the relations of Japan to China, Korea, Siberia since the fall of Russian power in eastern Asia. When dealing with recent events it is nearly impossible for even a historian to avoid the temptation to please his audience, especially if that audience is a Japanese one. To the reviewer's mind Professor Treat's volume is replete with interpretations of the shifts of Japanese foreign policy that are open to dispute. When speaking of Korea the author dismisses the matter of its annexa-

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tion with the words "Japan should be judged not by the way in which she acquired Korea, but by the use which she made of her great responsibilities toward the Korean peoples" (p. 201), and in another connection he speaks of "her stern measures in Korea", as the cause of much unfavorable criticism (p. 239), and again he admits that "the attitude of the average Japanese to the Korean leaves much to be desired". In trying to follow an author through so many changes of opinion the reader tends to arrive at the conclusion that either the writer does not know what he is talking about, and that could not be said of Professor Treat, or that he is deliberately adjusting his views to the demands of his audience. On such questions as the Twenty-one Demands, the entrance of Japan into the war, and the Shantung settlement our author is equally ambiguous in his treatment of the Japanese position.

There are scattered throughout the chapters numerous pieces of advice to Japanese statesmen on the conduct of foreign policy, and it is these preachments, implying criticism, that give the book much of its appearance of impartiality. On page 245, Professor Treat declares: "Japan, therefore, must do something positive to improve these relations between the Governments and the peoples. . . . To-day China needs unselfish encouragement and support, and the three Powers who have most at stake in rendering this are Japan, the United States, and Great Britain, and of these it means most to Japan. She should, therefore, be ready and willing to coöperate in all good works which will help China to regain her political union and independence." This specific advice is further generalized on page 248 in the following sentence: "But real leadership must be based upon service and not upon force, and no one could begrudge Japan such leadership in Asia."

If this book contributes even in a slight degree to the conversion of the Japanese to a policy of unselfish helpfulness in China, its publication will have at least that justification. As a contribution to current knowledge on the subject little can be said in its favor.

W. W. McLaren.

A History of the United States since the Civil War. By Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer. In five volumes. Volume II., 1868–1872. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. xi, 649. $4.00.)

It is a pity that Dr. Dunning's witty mind and facile pen are no longer available to deal with Oberholtzer's second volume as he dealt with the first. For although I think that my opinion of the value of the work would not have differed from his, I cannot match his wit in avoiding expression of it.

Volume II. covers the years 1868–1872. Reconstruction, Impeachment, the Presidential Campaign of 1868, and Grant as President, are the subjects of four chapters exclusively political. The story of the Ku Klux

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Klan, and that of the origin and settlement of the Alabama Claims, are the topics of the next two chapters. They are followed by one dealing with such various matters as the building of the first Pacific Railroad, the projects for an interoceanic canal, diplomatic dealings with China and Japan, and government subsidies.

The last chapter, entitled the End of the Orgy, is an exhaustive collection of all the discreditable and scandalous conditions, movements, and tendencies that could be cited as of the four years under review, unrelieved by the faintest hint that the picture presented is not complete and accurate. A New Zealander, say, endeavoring to acquaint himself with American history, would not find in this chapter a single line to suggest that decency or honesty was not extinct in American public and business life. If he relied on this book alone he would believe that Congress, the church, the bench, the bar, and the newspaper press were completely demoralized, that politicians, clergymen, and professional men welcomed and profited by the corrupt propositions made to them by the railroad and other corporations seeking public favors. All moral perceptions were blunted, if it is true, as asserted on page 539, that "To so many persons the accumulation of wealth had become the one absorbing and all-important object in life that the methods by which the end was gained, no matter how abominable, shocked nobody".

For the most part the book is a version of political history. In the writing of history a judicial temper is desirable, although it may be admitted that some histories written from a frankly partizan point of view are not without merit and usefulness. But we find here an author who never sees more than one side of a controversy, who asperses the motives of all on the other side, and does not refrain from vituperative epithets. It would be easy to quote scores of passages in which the leaders of the party in power at the time covered by this volume are assailed with slur or belittling innuendo. The chapter on Grant as President leaves the reader wondering how so mediocre a man could have been placed in such an exalted station as the presidency, but he would not wonder at the result: "an administration which throughout was singularly wanting in worthy figures or creditable deeds" (p. 306). Sumner, Fish, Boutwell, Garfield, Colfax, Logan, Thaddeus Stevens, of course, and many others are held up to reprobation or scorn, or are bluntly denounced as liars. One wonders what possible bearing on history the author attributed to the peculiarly offensive paragraph about Motley in the note on page 440.

The extreme, even sensational, one-sidedness of the author's attitude is shown, even more than in the text, if that were possible, in the page-headlines. Here are a few of them, selected casually from various parts of the book: "Infamous White Men" (meaning those whom he invariably designates as "scalawags" or "carpet-baggers"); "Mongrel Menageries"; "Grant's Simplicity"; "Disgrace of Colfax"; "Radical Rhet-

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oric"; "A Corrupted Press"; "Partisan Fury"; "Grant's Low Example"; "Radical Schemes".

Throughout the book, it is fair to say, the citation of authorities is abundant and, it is to be presumed, accurate. The only just criticism is that they are exclusively such as support the views of the author as to the events, the men, and the political and social conditions he has undertaken to present to his readers. Two inaccuracies may be noted for correction should there be need of a second edition. Santo Domingo, which Grant hoped to acquire for the United States, is in every instance referred to as San Domingo. On page 159 we are told that on a date mentioned a greenback dollar was worth 139¾. Of course the statement should be that a gold dollar was worth so much in comparison with a greenback dollar.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

How America Went to War. By BENEDICT CROWELL, Assistant Secretary of War and Director of Munitions, 1917–1920, and ROBERT FORREST WILSON, formerly Captain, U. S. A. In six volumes. IV., V. *The Armies of Industry: Our Nation's Manufacture of Munitions for a World in Arms, 1917–1918;* VI. *Demobilization: Our Industrial and Military Demobilization after the Armistice, 1918–1920.* (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1921. Pp. xxv, 382; 383–738; xiii, 333.) $42.00 for six vols.

THESE books have the form and appearance of historical works. They purport to record those activities of the War Department over which the senior author had jurisdiction during a part of the war and for some months following. Volumes IV. and V. are, with the following exceptions, reprinted verbatim from an official report to the Secretary of War by Assistant Secretary Crowell, published by the United States government in May, 1919—three short chapters are added, three short chapters are omitted, twelve chapter-titles are altered, a dozen or more pages are slightly edited, some of the statistical tables are altered, an index is added, the type is larger, and the paper heavier. More than a third of the same material, the part relating to ordnance supplies, has been published before with little change of form and no change of substance in May, 1920, by E. P. Dutton and Company, in a book under the title *American Guns in the War with Germany,* signed by Edward S. Farrow and dedicated to Mr. Crowell. Mr. Crowell in the original governmental publication makes acknowledgment for the preparation of the work to nearly a hundred officers then in service. Volume VI. was prepared in Washington after Mr. Crowell had retired from office.

One cannot pass lightly over these books on the theory that the authors had inadequate access to the sources. The conditions of writing were

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ideal for a historian. But these authors appear, consciously or unconsciously, to be extreme adherents to that philosophy of history which must find order and logic in the course of events or read it in. They adopt a formula which they apply in turn to each class of supplies and then they inject true symmetry into the work as a whole by opening and closing with chapters showing how America's plans and performances always co-ordinated accurately with the purposes and acts of the Allied Powers.

These authors see in respect to each commodity involved in our industrial participation in the war (1) chaos on April 6, 1917, followed promptly by (2) plans and programmes which are (3) brilliantly consummated in the events surrounding November 11, 1918. Each and every act recorded is part of a well-ordered plan, intelligently conceived so as to lead to the end sought with the least possible confusion and delay. The losses and wastes could none of them have been avoided, if indeed there were any.

There are other men who looked upon the same events and circumstances and report that they saw, on April 6, 1917, chaos, not in American war industries, which were prosperous and grown to immense size, but in the American War Department, which chaos was only slightly and in places relieved until the close of hostilities made the whole spontaneous and unsystematic struggle no longer necessary.

The manner of the books is illustrated by chapter XXXII., on Vehicles. It is implied that American manufacturers were not equipped in April, 1917, to supply motor-trucks to the army as fast as it could be mustered in. The chapter praises the marvellous work of motor-trucks in saving Verdun. Three thousand trucks of one American firm were on that job when we went to war and many more thousands were in France giving complete satisfaction. No important quantities of these particular trucks were ordered by the American army until July, 1918, after more than a year had been consumed in a vain struggle to design a new composite truck which somebody thought might be better. The authors find all this according to programme—the composite trucks should have come out in 1919 or 1920, it was "planned" to delay a year, order in a hurry, find shipping space short, and have the American Expeditionary Force buy what and where it could in Europe. The authors complacently point out the number of trucks contracted for on November 11, 1918, as if they believe that to be an appropriate measure of the manner of meeting war requirements.

These books are likely to cause those who engage in historical research in the future some confusion when they attempt to check the impressions given with the primary records. This is particularly true in respect to the treatment of munitions of war proper. It is said, for example, that there were no facilities in the United States for making complete rounds of ammunition in quantities on April 6, 1917. The

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records of our manufacturing companies show that many million complete rounds created here had been delivered to the Allied Powers before that date. And as for components, the nitrocellulose powder capacity had grown from 1,500,000 pounds per month in 1914 to 1,000,000 pounds per day in April, 1917. The expansion of high-explosives capacity, of shell capacity, and that of the other constituents, except to some extent detonators, had taken a like course. Military-rifle capacity had been raised from zero to 5,000,000 pieces per year. And all or nearly all these munition plants were quite capable of expansion to an extent adequate to meet any new need.

But the War Department, whether it was quite conscious of the trend of its policy or not, began at high noon the creation of many new and extremely difficult designs—machine guns, artillery, ammunition, right through the list. The artillery which our troops used at the front and the ammunition which they fired were purchased by the American Expeditionary Force from the Allied Powers, simply because it was time to strike before the War Department could get these supplies from the United States to the firing line; but the noteworthy fact is that much more than the equivalent of this same artillery was supplied by private manufacturers in the United States to the Allies, some in the form of finished guns, most of it as gun-tube forgings and other semi-finished constituents. And the same is true of the artillery ammunition; the American Expeditionary Force bought 9,000,000 rounds of the Allies, the Allies bought a far larger number than that of complete rounds here.

No catastrophe befell us in the war. But the reader of Mr. Crowell's books should be warned of the sense of security into which they tend to soothe him. We had many months of warning, we neglected to design our tools or prepare plans for procuring them until the war was upon us. Then we did our part largely with borrowed tools. The authors here have so framed their presentation that all this seems natural and as it should be. They make no plea for industrial preparedness, not even in respect to designs and plans.

One lays these volumes down with a feeling of something less than satisfaction. As new books appear on our industrial part in the war, they are read in the hope of finding an impersonal analysis. That analysis we do not find here, but only an account by interested parties, and an account permeated by a too evident desire on the part of the authors to justify and praise all that took place. Perhaps we should not expect the same men to make and write history. Perhaps we are still too close to the events.

FRANK FRITTS.

The Washington Conference. By RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL, Procter Fellow in Politics in Princeton University. (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1922. Pp. xiii, 461. $3.00.)

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The Shantung Question: a Study in Diplomacy and World Politics. By GE-ZAY WOOD, B.A. (Yale), M.A. (Harvard), Member of Chinese Delegation to the Washington Conference; Curtis Fellow in International Law and Diplomacy, Columbia University, 1919–1921. (New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1922. Pp. 372. $5.00.)

THESE two books are more than useful commentaries on the Washington Conference. Mr. Buell attempts a general historical survey of the problems which were before the Conference and Mr. Wood does not reach the Conference till his eighteenth chapter. Nevertheless each volume must be judged to a considerable extent by the view taken of the results of that meeting. Significantly Mr. Wood, who as a Chinese was connected with the press department of the Chinese delegation at the Washington Conference, says: "It is thus evident that the Shantung settlement reached at Washington is not a bad bargain for China. Chinese public opinion in general has reason to be satisfied" (p. 275). Mr. Buell, the American author, is, however, critical of the settlement; in this as in other matters he views the general results as directly or indirectly perpetuating and strengthening Japanese influence or control in the Far East.

Thus Mr. Buell says (p. 200): "Consequently, as long as these [Naval and Four-Power] Treaties are adhered to, Japan is absolutely supreme in the eastern Pacific and over Asia." And again (p. 327): the Conference "strengthened the position of Japan and it increased the hostility of the Chinese and Siberians toward the Japanese". Whatever we may think of these sweeping conclusions this book is a contrast to Mr. Mark Sullivan's chortle over the Washington meeting; this Mr. Peffer has reviewed elsewhere under the apt title—"Pollyanna at the Conference". Mr. Buell's book shows a sense of proportion which Mr. Sullivan's lacked. Rightly the emphasis is laid on Pacific and Far Eastern questions rather than on the limitation of armaments. Here is cool scrutiny, though it may occasionally end in rather flamboyant generalization; and the optimistic, almost lyrical note which characterizes the opinion of most supporters of the present administration in regard to the work and results of the Conference is absent. Mr. Buell's book, however, is not entirely pessimistic; rather is it a healthy though disagreeable corrective diet for those benevolent gourmands who banqueted too joyously at the official table of the American delegation. Senator Lodge won't like Mr. Buell's book.

On the other hand Mr. Buell's survey also lacks at times an intimate touch with some of the important factors which were involved in the work of the Conference. Thus in the discussion of the proposed renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance Mr. Buell fails to understand the meaning of Article VI. That did actually provide for the automatic indefinite duration of the alliance unless the treaty were denounced at

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some future date. Neither the American nor the Japanese government ever supposed in 1920 or 1921 that proper steps had been taken to terminate the treaty of alliance of 1911. The alliance is in fact in existence, at least technically, until the Four-Power Treaty is ratified by France. Consequently comments in chapter IV. need revision. In similar fashion the statement as to the origin of the Conference (pp. 147–148) is incomplete; for the relationship of the Washington Conference to the British Imperial Conference of July, 1921, is not sufficiently indicated. Some of the criticism directed against the American delegation is also open to question. It does not seem fair to say that "President Wilson had actually fought for his Fourteen Points at Paris, although he was defeated there; but Mr. Hughes admitted defeat from the very first" (p. 322). The factor of American public opinion seems to have been ignored. We did not want to fight for China or for the open door in 1922 and the Japanese delegation knew that as well as Mr. Hughes did. Furthermore, within the American delegation was the pressure of Mr. Root's profound conviction that world opinion was "the greatest power known to human history". When the time comes to revise present estimates of the American concessions which now grate so sorely on Mr. Buell, the greater responsibility for many of them may be found to rest with Mr. Root.

Such criticisms, however, should not disturb the essential fact that the book as a whole is a stimulating review of an exceedingly difficult subject. This is also true of Mr. Wood's more intensive survey of the Shantung Question. Naturally there is a strong bias toward the Chinese side of the case; that, once recognized, is part of its value as a semi-official statement. There are passages and discussions which are beside the mark; but as a careful history of the Shantung problem this volume will deservedly rank high. There is no pretense in the book and its publication should challenge the issue of an equally sincere presentation of the Japanese point of view, which will also be as circumstantial as to China as Mr. Wood tries to be in his treatment of Japanese policy. Both books are well documented and have workable indexes.

A. L. P. D.

History of the Latin-American Nations. By WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON, Professor of History in the University of Illinois. (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1922. Pp. xxiii, 617. $4.00.)

TREATMENT of the history of the region comprised within the geographical expression "Latin America" has followed one of two modes of presentation. The writers concerned have regarded the several countries into which it is divided as so many parts of an area having substantially the same type of civilization or have considered their political separateness sufficient to justify a recognition of each as an individual

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nation. To the latter school belongs Professor Robertson, and his text-book is the best example of it extant in any language. The superiority of his manual indeed to all of its competitors in this field of interpretation is so manifest that comparisons are futile. More than a text-book for college and university classes, it is a work of reference meriting a hearty tribute of acknowledgment for the industry in research and precision of scholarship which it displays. Professor Robertson has rendered a great service in providing teachers, students, and the general reader with a really authoritative text on the history of the Latin-American states.

About one-third of the work is devoted to the period before the attainment of independence. In the remaining portion the history of each of the republics in South America and of Mexico is traced in successive chapters from the third decade of the nineteenth century onward to the present time. The life record of the little countries in the Caribbean and in Central America, however, is condensed into a single chapter. At the close consideration is given to Latin-American "problems and ideals" and the relations of the republics to European nations and to the United States. Except in the case of the last two chapters, descriptions of phases of civilization are supplied which might serve to indicate the conditions prevalent in each of the Latin-American countries to-day. Appended to most of the chapters, also, are summaries that in the main furnish excellent characterizations. The volume has a number of maps and an elaborate bibliography so arranged as to correspond to each of the individual chapters.

Believing that, although "some resemblances exist between the Latin-American nations, yet there are many differences—differences which are potential in determining their destinies" (p. vi), Professor Robertson applies to them the word "nations", instead of "republics", with the object apparently of emphasizing the nationhood that, in his opinion, each of them possesses apart from its fellows in the Hispanic area of civilization. Whether disposed or not to admit that the ideas and institutions implanted by Spain and Portugal and the vicissitudes through which the colonies passed on their way to emancipation from the control of their respective mother countries may have been of greater significance than their development as political entities in determining their destinies, he subordinates such considerations to a recital in detail of the history of each individual state. The multifarious relations arising among them, also, he treats as incidents in their separate national record—a procedure that necessarily involves repetition—or else he vouchsafes them a brief notice in one of the final chapters.

Valuable as the work is, and a testimonial to the scholarship and competence of the author, its very exhaustiveness may interfere somewhat with its usefulness as a text-book, though not as a book of reference. In the latter respect a chronological list of the presidents or other chief executives and of the constitutions of each of the republics would have

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been a welcome addition. This brings up the matter of maps and bibliography. So far as the former are concerned, Professor Robertson fares no better at the hands of his publishers than most of his compeers in the field of history. The maps are not at all commensurate in merit with the contents of the work that they are supposed to illustrate. As to the bibliography it might be said that, while full praise must be accorded the effort displayed in accumulating and arranging so much material, there is room for doubt whether it is as serviceable as its size might indicate. Many of the titles might have been omitted to advantage and their places taken by critical estimates of the books that are really worth while.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

MINOR NOTICES

An Introduction to Economic History. By Norman S. B. Gras, Ph.D., Professor of Economic History in the University of Minnesota. [Harper's Historical Series, edited by Guy Stanton Ford.] (New York and London, Harper and Brothers, 1922, pp. xxiv, 350, $2.50.) In these hurried days we have come to apply the term introduction to a tabloid treatment of a subject, more commonly than to an initial grounding in the definitions and classifications essential to its thorough comprehension. But it is in the latter sense, of prolegomena to economic history, that the title of Professor Gras's book should be read.

The author's purpose is to show, by a special interpretation of illustrative economic facts, five stages of social evolution, and thus to establish a sequential classification in economic history within which the student may group his later accumulations of data. These successive steps in human development are termed collectional economy, when man merely gathers the spontaneous products of nature—the hunting stage; cultural nomadic economy, when men are wandering herdsmen and occasional agriculturalists without fixed abodes; settled village economy, to which even higher civilizations occasionally revert in periods of political disintegration and under colonial conditions; town economy, such as prevailed in America until after the railway era and still survives to some extent in the South; and metropolitan economy, where all the economic functions of a country are polarized with respect to one or more great centres of population.

These are recognized steps in historical progress and familiar cultural classifications applied to existing races and tribes in different degrees of advancement. Their use as a framework for economic history is not novel. Nevertheless this volume has some pretension to originality in addition to its unquestionable merit as a text-book. In the discussion of metropolitan economy there are stimulating suggestions and fresh viewpoints worthy of more elaborate treatment than the author could

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give them in so compressed a space. Some of the applications are debatable and a perhaps unintentional aspect of finality is given to our contemporary, city-centred civilization, which a critical study of existing economic forces might incline a student to qualify. But these are minor details so far as the immediate purpose of the book is concerned. It is an excellent class-room aid for both economics and history courses; and its last two chapters, embracing nearly half of the text, will repay the attention of the mature economist.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

Documents and their Scientific Examination. By C. Ainsworth Mitchell. (London, Charles Griffin and Company, 1922, pp. xii, 215, 10 s. 6 d.) This little book gives an outline of methods employed in the examination of disputed documents by means of chemistry and the use of the microscope. After describing the apparatus needed, the author enters upon a series of descriptions of the materials used for records, beginning with paper and including inks, pencils, typewriting machines, and printing. Having previously written much upon the production and properties of inks, his most important contribution here is concerned with that subject. As a result of his own investigations he presents much valuable information about reagents and methods of testing the age and derivation of writing fluids. The composition of the lead pencil also has a history which may be employed with the assistance of the microscope to fix the time and sequence of marks and handwriting. The characteristics of writing are only briefly treated, for the work is more concerned with other external factors. It is not an outline of palaeography, or of the usages of diplomatics, but a convenient handbook for the expert witness in a court of justice. It does not take the place of the chapters in the authoritative writers on the history of manuscripts and documentary forms, but aims to be a practical manual for the discovery of modern forgery. At the same time the historical student will profit by the study of the processes and the reasoning here employed in proving from external evidence the status of a questioned document.

J. M. V.

Intervention in International Law. By Ellery C. Stowell. (Washington, D. C., John Byrne and Company, 1921, pp. viii, 558, $4.00.) Intervention has traditionally been held to be interference by one state in the affairs of another so as to give direction to the other's policy, domestic or even foreign. The legality of any intervention has therefore been denied by many writers as in derogation of the so-called fundamental rights of states. Mr. Stowell propounds another definition: "Intervention in the relations between states is—the rightful use of force, or the reliance thereon, to constrain obedience to international law." It becomes therefore a body of remedial law, and "sovereignty is the sys-

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tem which reduces this outside interference to a minimum". The author has sought to work out his scheme from international practice, and notwithstanding his attempt to divide grounds of intervention between those which are legal and those which are political, the distinction is not quite convincing. Collective intervention may rest upon a legal basis, but even it has frequently been political. It would seem that the author would clothe political intervention with a legal covering, a so-called right of reasonable adjustment, where there has been a refusal by a state to agree to a reasonable adjustment or compromise, even when the rights and interests of that state have been threatened. This is a rather daring generalization from the Hague Convention of 1907.

In addition to the faults of the general plan of the book, embracing divisions which do not seem to be mutually exclusive, the work as a whole is ill-digested. Not only in the foot-notes, but in the body of the text, are copious extracts—exceeding in space the words of the author—the germaneness of which is not always to be perceived. One would scarcely expect to find Attorney General Daugherty's opinion as to the transportation of liquors (pp. 270–275) in a work on intervention, any more than the correspondence between Palmerston and G. C. Lewis on British foreign policy. Such a mélange of extracts affords a variety of incident, but considerable irritation results if the reader is attempting to follow a reasoned and sustained argument. The annotated bibliography is apparently adequate and valuable.

J. S. Reeves.

La Terre avant l'Histoire: les Origines de la Vie et de l'Homme. Par Edmond Perrier, Professeur d'Anatomie Comparée au Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. [*L'Évolution de l'Humanité,* dirigée par Henri Berr.] (Paris, La Renaissance du Livre, 1920, pp. xxviii, 414, 15 fr.) In this book of about four hundred pages the author has condensed the history of the origin of the world and life, and of the coming of man, covering a period of scores of millions of years. The story of the origin of atoms and molecules, of our sun and planetary system, is told in the fifteen pages of the first chapter. The shaping of the earth, its relation to the sun, and its varying climates occupy the next forty pages.

The second part treats of the origin of life and its earliest evolution, the appearance of the great types of plants and animals, and the spread of life into the depths of the oceans and over the continents.

The third part describes the forms of life during the great geological ages. Practically the whole palaeontological and zoological history of life, and a good bit of geology, are here outlined in about one hundred pages. There is little space left for the development of the primates into man.

It is truly a French piece of work, condensed but clear, and well planned and arranged: it "marches". It is the work of a learned,

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philosophical, brilliant zoologist. In the chapters on this subject the author is at his best. The chapters on palaeontology are nearly as good, though here his knowledge seems sometimes less accurate. His views of geological development often look risky. Here the reviewer hesitates to criticize lest he betray his own ignorance or outgrown theories. We wish the author could have had more space for the immediate ancestry and the conditions of the coming of man.

Such a book must have the defects of its virtues. It is mostly a series of generalizations which often go over into speculations, some of which, at least, seem to lack firmness of foundation. What else could we demand or expect? It is a panorama, not a portrait. The reader will enjoy it, and gain a general picture of the origin and growth of the world and life which will instruct and help him. The author carries a great mass of facts as well as speculations easily and lightly. The book is never dull; and, best of all, it is always highly suggestive.

Les "Pauvres" d'Israël (Prophètes, Psalmistes, Messianistes). Par A. Causse, Professeur à la Faculté de Théologie Protestante de l'Université de Strasbourg. [Études d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses publiées par la Faculté, fascicule 3.] (Strasbourg and Paris, Istra, 1922, pp. 173, 8 fr.) The University of Strasbourg under its new régime is surely making itself known to the world by its many publications and the present volume is a welcome addition to the number. As the title suggests, the book is a presentation of the hopes, the aspirations, the ideals of "the poor" in Israel—not "the poor" in the material sense of the word, but rather the piously minded, the humble and reverent spirits of Israel.

The author divides his treatment into three parts, which are likewise three successive epochs in the history of the nation. In the first he shows how the people grew from the simple-minded, god-fearing folk of the early nomadic age to a nation in which class rivalry, selfishness, and injustice were rampant. Against this condition of affairs the Nazirites, Rechabites, and prophets in turn protested, championing the simpler, plainer life of the patriarchal age. The second part of the book is devoted to a consideration of the Psalter and the author shows that many of the Psalms are expressive of this same note of simplicity, quietism, and piety. It was "the poor in spirit" who saw God. In the last division the author discusses some of the literature of the intertestamental period and here again we note that the leading thought of the Messianists of the time had this same pietistic strain running through it.

The book is well written and is well abreast of scholarly opinion about the Old Testament. The discussion is abundantly illustrated by Scriptural references and quotations, so that one may check up the interpretations and note the grounds for them. Like most foreign books it lacks that requisite of all books, an index. The volume is a popular

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one, but scholarly withal. In it one has in brief compass a review of the inner religious thought of Israel throughout its history and that inner thought the author has well shown to be pietistic.

THEOPHILE J. MEEK.

Les Lorrains et la France au Moyen-Age. Par le Comte Maurice de Pange. (Paris, Édouard Champion, 1919, pp. xxx, 196.) This is a collection of studies, all except one of which appeared previously but through different channels. Somewhat revised by their author, then brought together several years after his death (which occurred in 1913) and provided with a thirty-page introduction (signed by "J. P."), an index, and a good table of contents, they are at once easy to consult and interpretative to a considerable degree of each other.

The Comte de Pange was Lorraine-bred, and of a family whose ties to the soil and to the life of the region began many generations back. While still very young he developed a sort of passion for the history of what he saw about him, and took to collecting and reading the documents —however undecipherable they often seemed. What interested him especially, as the years passed, was not simply the raw facts, but the thinking and temper of the people concerned. For one point, whence came Joan of Arc and the sort of feeling she had concerning the king of France? Patriotism toward France, runs the answer in the first of these studies, patriotism inspired not by interest but by attachment in the abstract, with religious quality and capacity for sacrifice, was a very old thing in Lorraine when Joan's life began. Many say however that Joan, while French in sentiment, was of Champagne. Not at all, says the second study: the part of Domremy where she lived belonged legally to Lorraine—and the demonstration offered is a skillful bit. Of the remaining studies, one gives the Baudricourt origin in Lorraine rather than Champagne, three concern "Les Lorrains dans l'Histoire Littéraire de France", and the last concludes decisively that Duke Simon II. of Lorraine was succeeded, in 1206, by his nephew Ferri de Bitche, not by his brother of the same name.

E. W. Dow.

A Brief Account of the Military Orders in Spain. By Georgiana Goddard King, M.A., Professor of the History of Art in Bryn Mawr College. [Hispanic Notes and Monographs.] (New York, the Hispanic Society of America, 1921, pp. xii, 275, $2.50.) This charming little volume, in the familiar binding and style of the publications of the Hispanic Society of America, is of interest primarily to the traveller along the by-paths of history. For one unfamiliar with the main outlines of Spanish medieval history the account would be unintelligible. It is based directly on early chronicles, more especially on that of Rades about the three principal military orders. These works are followed not

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only as to facts but also as to form and style. The author takes up one order after another, running through the lives of each of the masters. Calatrava is accorded 101 pages, Alcántara 54, Santiago 90, and minor orders 16.

So intent is the author upon preserving the atmosphere of her sources, that she employs English of "medieval sound", with much unexplained allusion. On this account the meaning, and even the person referred to, are not always clear. The following are specimens of the literary style: "the account which the Order kept . . . was other"; "Monroy . . . his loyal servitor unwavering"; "a bastard daughter of the Master's to wife"; "belike".

One ought first to read such a book as Merriman's *Rise of the Spanish Empire,* if he is to have an understanding of the significance of the military orders in Spanish life, for there is no intimation of it here. The volume serves its most useful purpose, perhaps, in its characterizations of individuals and descriptions of specific incidents, which may be used to dress up the more sombre facts of history. The following are good illustrations of this phase of the book: stories of the Marquis of Villena, Pedro Girón, and Alonso de Monroy; relations of Alfonso XI. and Gonzalo Núñez; the battle of Aljubarrota; and the murder of Fadrique, Master of Santiago, by his half-brother King Peter.

For the professor of Spanish history and the wanderer "off the beaten track" in Spain the book will be a welcome addition to his library

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

Mystics and Heretics in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages. By Émile Gebhart. Translated, with an Introduction, by Edward Maslin Hulme. (London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd.; New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1922, pp. 283, 12 s. 6 d.) The publication of a translation of Gebhart's *L'Italie Mystique* thirty-two years after the appearance of the original seems to serve no purpose. The author had no particular distinction either as a literary man or a scholar, and this work, which implied such a wide field of study, was regarded as a popular exposition, told in a charming style, rather than as a serious historical work. The mass of new documents, new investigations on the period covered by the book, makes it to-day thoroughly inadequate as a presentation of its subject.

GEORGE L. HAMILTON.

Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart. Von Fritz Hartung. Second revised edition. [Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft, ed. Aloys Meister, Reihe II., Abteilung 4.] (Leipzig and Berlin, B. G. Teubner, 1922, pp. vi, 205, $1.95.) The collapse of the German Empire and of princely governments in a score of German states, followed by the rise of national and state republican gov-

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ernments, naturally suggested a new edition of Professor Hartung's well-known constitutional history; and occasion has been taken not only to add a chapter on the revolution of 1918 and the organization of the new political system but to make some additions and other alterations at certain points throughout the original book. The result is the best brief treatise upon the subject that we have. Part I., dealing with the old empire, from the fifteenth century to 1806, clearly analyzes the constitutional basis of the political system then existing and traces the growth of absolutism in Brandenburg-Prussia, with a good deal of attention to the development of political ideas. Part II. takes up the character of the Confederation of 1815, the constitutional growth of the northern and southern states, the political evolution of Prussia from the Stein-Hardenberg reforms to the war of 1866, the transition from the North German Confederation to the empire, the constitutional aspects of the empire, and, finally, as has been said, the rise of the republican governments in 1918 and after. The book remains, of course, hardly more than an outline. But it is well arranged, well written, and attractively printed; and, being equipped with copious bibliographical notes, it invites and guides to more extended study of the matters with which it deals.

La Liberté Chrétienne: Étude sur le Principe de la Piété chez Luther. Par Robert Will. [Études d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses, publiées par la Faculté de Théologie Protestante de l'Université de Strasbourg, fascicule 4.] (Strasbourg, Istra, 1922, pp. xix, 329, 14 fr.) If the mutual understanding of each other's great men contributes to peace and good-will among nations, the lover of concord should greet the series of studies devoted to Luther published by the French Theological Faculty of Strasbourg with no less delight than does the scholar. The excellent monograph on Luther's religious evolution by Henri Strohl has now been followed by Robert Will's masterly analysis of one of the deepest problems of the Reformation.

For the thoughtful student of the life and times of Luther must often have pondered the exact meaning of "the freedom of a Christian man", so much emphasized and yet so obscurely defined by the author of the treatise of that name. Certainly this liberty had nothing political about it; when the serfs demanded emancipation, the Reformer repudiated their articles as making the liberty of Christ a purely external thing. Nor can the thesis be sustained that Luther's liberty meant religious toleration. It is significant that he wavered on this point, that he felt, in his first period, that the implications of his doctrine would result in religious autonomy; but that he later punished dissent, without expressly repudiating his doctrine of Christian freedom, proves that this freedom cannot have been identical with toleration. Least of all was the Reformer's liberty the modern rationalist's joy in wandering untrammelled through the realms of art and science. Nor, on narrower theological

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ground, was this early Protestant liberty freedom of the will, which was passionately declared to be in bondage. What then was this Christian liberty? Fundamentally, it was expressed by the idea that only the inward mattered; that a man's soul was his kingdom; that the individual alone counted, and not his works or possessions or mediators or ceremonies or sacraments or worldly condition; that, as Kant later phrased the same truth, nothing is good but a good will. It was a vast and noble thought and one which had, as M. Will brings out, an emancipating effect in political, social, economic, and ecclesiastical life. Much in the book deserves praise besides its elucidation of the main thesis. How fine are the phrases, "Luther's occasionally ferocious quietism" and "the polemic of Luther and Erasmus was on supernatural versus natural religion"!

PRESERVED SMITH.

Histoire de Lorraine (Duché de Lorraine, Duché de Bar, Trois-Évêchés). Par Robert Parisot, Professeur d'Histoire de l'Est de la France à l'Université de Nancy. Tome II., *De 1552 à 1789*. (Paris, Auguste Picard, 1922, pp. vi, 347, 9 fr.) As was explained in a notice of the first volume of this work, M. Parisot thinks that, to periodize the general history of Lorraine fittingly, attention should be paid primarily to the successive changes in the case or relations of the region with reference to neighboring peoples or countries. He has found thus a time of origins, to 511, in which were brought together the chief ethnic elements of the population and the main sources of its ideas; a Frankish period, 511–925; a period of German dominance or attachments, 925–1270; then a long time marked by progress of French influence, to 1812. The ways and means of French progress, various and almost steadily effective though they were, did not go beyond rights of suzerainty or guard till 1552. But with the occupation by Henry II. of Metz, Toul, and Verdun France was, as it were, installed in the heart of the country, in position to conquer it piece by piece as circumstances should permit. It is to this stage of French progress, or as far therein as 1789, that volume II. applies.

First comes the story, in four chapters, of political events, with attention outstandingly to the acquisition of sovereignty over the three episcopal cities and the bishoprics (sanctioned in 1648), and the gaining of the two duchies (accomplished finally in 1766). Next, an account, in two chapters, of institutions, with emphasis on the gradual replacement of old local liberties by a régime of absolutism and centralization, and increase of financial and military burdens. Then, in three chapters further, is a record of conditions and changes—reflective especially of French progress—as to material and private life and things economic; matters educational, intellectual, and artistic; and the Church and morals.

Throughout the volume appear the same evidences of high competence that marked the first volume. M. Parisot is far from being a brilliant,

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appealing writer. But he picks a way through a very complicated lot of matters with thorough mastery, and tells of them in carefully weighed and precisely adjusted words. He is able, too, though native of the region, to keep the light he holds up to the past unsmoked by the passions stirred in recent years.

E. W. Dow.

History of the Free Churchmen called the Brownists, Pilgrim Fathers, and Baptists in the Dutch Republic, 1581–1701. By the late J. de Hoop Scheffer, D.D., Professor of Church History in the Mennonite College and in the University of Amsterdam, Netherlands. With a Memoir, translated from the Dutch by J. de Hoop Scheffer. William Elliot Griffis, A.M., D.D., L.H.D., Editor. (Ithaca, N. Y., Andrus and Church, 1922, pp. xxxi, 253, $3.50.) The volume before us was written before 1893 (p. vii), and is therefore as a whole over twenty-five years old, while the first portions of the work were prepared (p. xii) before 1880. "Thoroughness, exactness, and precision" (p. iii) are evidently believed to be characteristics of the book.

In estimating the author's achievement, it is only fair that we should take into account the fact that his manuscript was written long ago, when it should undoubtedly have been published, if at all in its present form. Then most of the material herein presented would still have been fresh, whereas now for the most part it is old. However, the author writes with a good spirit and in a straightforward and honest fashion, his sense of proportion is good, and if his work will influence its American readers to look further into the beginnings of English Dissent, its publication will serve a useful purpose. Furthermore, the book offers, we are glad to say, some interesting minor features overlooked by, or unknown to, other writers through inaccessibility. The new material, however, covers only a few pages, but even so, it gives the volume its chief value to the student. The pages which we think furnish the most new evidence are 17–20, 28–30, 56–57, 59–63, 78–79, and 81–83, while chapter X. gives an excellent summary of the troubles that arose between George and Francis Johnson. Besides containing material that is no longer up to date, a work prepared so many years ago naturally suffers from blemishes of various kinds. The eight appendixes, we believe, have all appeared in other publications.

As to the editor's accomplishment, it is difficult to write with as much enthusiasm as one would like. To be sure, his undertaking has been a "labor of love", but that circumstance does not excuse the misprints too frequently found in the book, nor the fact that the text has not been brought up to date, nor the omission of notes which would show that most of the author's material, as well as much not found here, can be seen in English publications of the past twenty years, nor slips in the English of a foreign professor and his son, which might easily have

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been eliminated. Finally, we do not at all agree with the following remark in the editor's preface (p. xix): "It would be almost an insult to the bibliographers and ambitious librarians to praise Dr. Scheffer's Work." As we understand it, this is not at all the kind of book sought after by "bibliographers and ambitious librarians", nor is it likely to be especially praised by them.

CHAMPLIN BURRAGE.

The Life and Works of Sir Henry Mainwaring. Volume II. Edited by G. E. Manwaring and W. G. Perrin. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. LVI.] (London, the Society, 1922, pp. ix, 303.) The first volume of this work (see this *Review*, XXVI. 828–829) contains the life of Mainwaring. This volume contains his works. They consist of a discourse "Of the Beginnings, Practices, and Suppression of Pirates"; a discourse "Concerning the French Fishing upon the Sowe"; and "The Seaman's Dictionary". All of these are of some value historically. The discourse on pirates reveals much regarding the methods of English pirates by one who is entitled to be considered an authority on the subject. French fishing upon the Sowe has to do with French encroachments upon a particularly rich fishing bank in the English Channel to which the English claimed exclusive rights. It calls attention to one of the minor points involved in the seventeenth-century dispute over the sovereignty of the Narrow Seas. The Seaman's Dictionary is simply a glossary of terms commonly used in navigation and naval gunnery. It was evidently intended for the instruction of gentlemen who got command of ships rather by favor than by seamanship. Modern students will find it of considerable assistance to the understanding of the nautical literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Seaman's Dictionary runs to nearly two hundred pages; the two discourses taken together cover less than sixty pages. Sir Henry Mainwaring's literary efforts were modest at best, and as literature dull in the extreme. Considering the fact that he was an Oxford graduate, a pirate, a naval commander, a royal counsellor, and a friend of some of the most charming men of his time, he really ought to have done better. Indeed the only parts of his life or his works which show any real distinction are the disreputable parts, and about those unfortunately his biographer has been able to disclose very little. When Mainwaring forsook piracy he abandoned the only career in which he had apparently any real chance for immortality. Now that we have an excellent biography of him and a very scholarly edition of his works, we are forced to the conclusion that the oblivion to which the editors of the *Dictionary of National Biography* have consigned him is not altogether ill deserved.

CONYERS READ.

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British Diplomatic Instructions, 1689–1789. Volume I. *Sweden, 1689–1727.* Edited for the Royal Historical Society by James Frederick Chance, M.A., F. R. Hist. S. (London, the Society, 1922, pp. xxxviii, 250.) This collection of documents is a most scholarly piece of work, prepared with scientific accuracy and endowed with an admirable index. There is no table of contents, but the introduction is well and thoughtfully written and actually prepares the way for the efficient use of the documents. Enough too has been said about each envoy to make clear his character and position, as well as the circumstances attending his mission.

The "public instructions" are not included, save a few as examples, because such were practically stereotyped. The "additional" and "private and additional" instructions are concerned primarily with the conditions of the moment and contain much more of interest. Selections from the despatches to the envoys, often equivalent to instructions, sent subsequent to the instructions, are also included. The texts are perforce office copies, not originals. The editor retains in general the original orthography, though abbreviations are extended and the use of capitals and the punctuation modernized.

Comparatively few despatches are available from the first years of Charles XII., *i.e.*, the first years of Peter the Great, it should be noted, somewhat more from 1699 to 1709. Thence they come in quite a group, increasing more and more as we near the end of the period, the greater number being dated between 1719 and 1727. One easily recognizes the importance of this period from 1689 to 1727, perhaps not the greatest in Sweden's history, nevertheless an *heroic* epoch, the times of Charles XII. Sweden exerted influence upon European history, eastern and western, during that epoch and her potential importance seemed repeatedly to be a menace in the West, as for instance at the time of the famous interview between Charles XII. and Marlborough.

This volume is one of a series to cover the eighteenth century. It is to be expected that the contents of the other volumes will be as valuable and illuminating and as well constituted.

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

L'Influence Allemande en France au XVIII^e^ et au XIX^e^ Siècle. Par L. Reynaud, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Clermont. [Collection de Critique et d'Histoire.] (Paris, Librairie Hachette, 1922, pp. 316, 12 fr.) Beginning with the first systematic attempts to introduce the French public to German literature, around 1750, M. Reynaud has undertaken to ascertain how deeply the influence of German thought has been felt in France during the last century and a half. His book contains much material which is new, and is in other parts a very valuable compendium of the most recent works on a very complicated question It is also, like the recent books of MM. Seillières and René Gillouin, rep-

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resentative of a very important current of French thought, inasmuch as it is frankly presented as an attempt to bring into the pale of "clear and stern Latin reason, guide and supreme defender of our culture", the French mind led astray by foreign philosophers.

In the first part, entitled *La Brèche,* or "Breaking through", M. Reynaud has conclusively shown that from the very beginning the French public has been attracted by the sentimental and pastoral elements found in certain secondary German writers like Gessner but failed to develop an interest in the German thinkers. *Werther* pleased because of a morbid sentimentality which corresponded to the tendencies of the times, but Goethe's more significant work remained practically unknown until late in the nineteenth century. The influence of Germany was not seriously felt before the publication of Madame de Staël's famous book *De l'Allemagne.*

During the romantic period, it is to some extent the same conventional picture of Germany, loving and sentimental or satanic and fantastic, which appeals to the public. At the same time, however, through Cousin, Quinet, and Michelet, and later through Taine and Renan, German philosophical theories begin to permeate and cloud the French intellect and, if we are to follow M. Reynaud, to replace faith by mysticism, and reason by metaphysical uncertainties. The last chapter, in which M. Reynaud makes a survey of the extent and depth of the penetration of German ideas in France during the years which followed the Franco-Prussian War, will probably be most illuminating to a foreign reader.

Bold generalizations and contradictions cannot be avoided in a work of such a scope; but many of M. Reynaud's generalizations seem very questionable. The influence of the French Revolution on the romantic movement is hardly indicated; one would hesitate to trace to the influence of German philosophy alone the flood of obscenities found in certain naturalistic writers; one feels somewhat surprised to see Jaurès considered as a disciple of Karl Marx while Jules Guesde is not mentioned; one is somewhat surprised to find Edgar Poe, George Eliot, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Ruskin, Swinburne, Oscar Wilde enumerated in one breath and Kipling left out of German influences. One would like to add many reservations and qualifications to several statements of M. Reynaud, but on the whole his book is a remarkable contribution to a very complicated and much discussed problem which confronts at the present time the French people, and is a commendable effort to solve it historically.

GILBERT CHINARD.

La Révolution Française. Par Albert Mathiez, Professeur d'Histoire Moderne à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Dijon. Tome I. *La Chute de la Royauté, 1787–1792.* (Paris, Armand Colin, 1922, pp. vi, 218, 5 fr.) Just as there is need of an outline of history and an outline of science so there is need of an up-to-date history of the French

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Revolution. Since the great historians of the nineteenth century a wealth of new information has been gained. The old as well as the new source-material has been carefully evaluated. National and provincial historical societies have been founded and they have vied with each other in casting new light upon many phases of the Revolution. The conception of history as a science has been broadened so that at present history covers a much larger field of study. Much excellent monographic literature has appeared.

When we learned, therefore, that Professor Mathiez was preparing a three-volume work on the French Revolution we were pleased. The first volume is, however, a disappointment. It gives every evidence of being hastily prepared, of being written largely from memory of facts acquired during a number of years. The writer omits many facts that are of equal, and even of greater, importance to those he gives. When he generalizes he does not always give the real substance nor draw the proper conclusions. There is nothing to indicate that he is familiar with such detailed monographs as those of Brette and Flammermont and the dozen excellent studies published in the University of Nebraska *Studies*. He may have reasons for not giving references to the sources, but when statements are made that are in disagreement either with well-accepted views or with conclusions reached in the monographic literature the reader would like to know the reasons for them. We find some retrogressions. The book is well written. The narrative is clear and simple. The diction is scientific and dignified. There are words and phrases, however, that savor of the politician and propagandist. The Revolution and the revolutionists are favored.

CARL CHRISTOL.

Letters of Admiral of the Fleet the Earl of St. Vincent whilst First Lord of the Admiralty, 1801–1804. Edited by David Bonner Smith. Volume I. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. LV.] (London, the Society, 1922, pp. viii, 380.) "I have known many a good admiral make a wretched First Lord of the Admiralty." So wrote Jervis, or the Earl of St. Vincent as he is perhaps better known, when he became the head of the British navy under the Addington ministry in 1801. In this first of the two volumes of St. Vincent's correspondence covering the years 1801–1804, David Bonner Smith, the editor, has evidently culled the letters of most interest to the present-day reader. While St. Vincent did not make "a wretched First Lord", his fame rests to-day on his great achievements as a naval officer, as the restorer of discipline after the great mutinies, as the patron of able officers like Troubridge, Collingwood, and especially Nelson, and as the victor at the battle of St. Vincent—for these achievements he is known to-day rather than for his work as a member of Parliament or of the Cabinet. The officer's impatience with administrative machinery is well illustrated

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by his remark when he impetuously left one of his first cabinet meetings, "Really, I have no time to throw away". St. Vincent's tenure as First Lord has often been criticized in that, failing to foresee that the Treaty of Amiens would be a mere scrap of paper, he neglected to prepare the fleet for the inevitable renewal of the war. Yet St. Vincent's work as head of the Admiralty was lasting and far-reaching. In a government notorious for corruption he had the rugged honesty and courage to root out favoritism in the navy and corruption in the dockyards. Throughout, especially in the chapter on promotions, his contempt for a type of officers whom he called "old women in the guise of young men" is very evident. Here he appears as the same "Old Jarvie", who as flag-officer had hung mutinous seamen, packed off at a moment's notice insubordinate or inefficient admirals, or flung broadcast sarcastic reprimands. To Admiral Dacres he writes (p. 326): "Your letter reminds me of my old constituents at Yarmouth, who, the moment I did them an act of great kindness, applied for another; and I cannot forbear telling you, frankly, that I am not a little disgusted with the repeated assumptions I have received from your house."

The editor, as previously implied, has arranged the correspondence in chronological order under such captions as The Baltic and the North Sea. The Peace Terms, etc. In addition to a long introduction to the volume, each chapter has its own lengthy introduction. On the whole, the letters shed no new light on contemporary history. And although it may be said that a man's personal, and even his official, letters are a true gauge of his character, the letters of St. Vincent tell us little that was not previously known of him.

HERMAN F. KRAFFT.

World History, 1815–1920. By Eduard Fueter. Translated by Sidney Bradshaw Fay, Professor of History in Smith College. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Company, [1922], pp. v, 490, $3.00.) This book, which appeared in 1921 as *Weltgeschichte der letzten Hundert Jahre, 1815–1920,* was one which it was worth while to write and worth while to translate. To some of us who believe that the historian of "periods" may well use a broader canvas than western Europe, or even the whole of Europe, furnishes, it is particularly welcome.

What is Professor Fueter's method of approach? In his introduction he tells us that

> What has hitherto been called "universal history" or "world history" has been nothing but a conglomeration. . . . Writers have been satisfied with a mere juxtaposition of narratives, when in fact they ought to have shown the interdependence of occurrences taking place in widely separate localities. . . . events shall be so selected as to bring into the foreground those which have universal significance. . . . Europe and the European nations will indeed be given first place; but only those phenomena shall

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be set forth in detail which have exercised a wide influence beyond old Europe

and have resulted in the conquest of the world by the European nations and by European civilization, a conquest which has been the most important work of the past one hundred years. This is his programme and a difficult one, particularly because he is far more than an old-school political historian and takes full account in his narrative of economic causes and consequences. To illustrate his point of view, England by the greater control over India which she acquired as a result of the changes following the Sepoy Rebellion was "led into a new political policy in regard to Eastern Asia, and was provoked into one of the most important events of the nineteenth century—the Europeanizing of the Far East" (p. 150).

Has Professor Fueter been successful in his task? On the whole, yes. A Swiss and the author of the scholarly *Geschichte der Neueren Historiographie,* he was well fitted to undertake it. His presentation of such contentious issues as are raised in the chapter on the World War shows his fairness and his detached viewpoint. It would be difficult to find a better balanced short account. Moreover, he has a gift for saying things clearly and succinctly. In fact rarely has a large tangled mass of international problems been handled with such a mastery of the factors which underlay them.

As for the selection of material and the proportions observed in his treatment of that material, one may perhaps differ with him. Individual judgments always differ in regard to such matters. For example, the reviewer would question the wisdom of allowing the events in Russia from 1905 to 1914 only one page, while the details of the founding of the French colonial empire in North Africa, 1815 to 1889, are given seventeen. Professor Fueter has a reason for such distribution of space: "the occupation of Algiers by the French has been of the very greatest importance in its influence upon world history and upon the relation of the European states to one another in the second half of the nineteenth century" (p. 128). Still, one raises a question.

There are no maps. The translation is excellent.

HENRY R. SHIPMAN.

The Relation of British Policy to the Declaration of the Monroe Doctrine. By Leonard Axel Lawson, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. CIII., no. 1.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1922, pp. 153, $1.50.) Dr. Lawson's book is a recapitulation of a familiar story, rather than an original contribution to historical knowledge. It is most instructive in its consideration of the rôle which commercial interests played in shaping British policy toward South America. That this rôle was large has long been known; but Dr. Lawson brings to the discussion of the

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matter an accumulation of statistics and other data that usefully reinforce and substantiate the previous conclusions of other writers. He has also given us an account of Canning's diplomacy in 1823, which, while altering no established conceptions, and unduly ignoring the elements of conflicting opinion with which the Foreign Secretary had to deal in the British Cabinet, is none the less an especially useful exposition of this phase of the colonial question.

That the attitude of Great Britain had an important part in shaping American policy and producing the famous declaration of 1823 is the principal conclusion of this book, and one which hardly needed elucidation. Dr. Lawson is on less secure ground when he seeks to show that the American attitude was of high, if not equal, importance in shaping Canning's diplomacy, and bringing it success. Such a view rests upon an imperfect knowledge of the actual dangers against which Canning had to contend.

It is a pity, indeed, that running through the whole volume is the implicit assumption that the Continental powers seriously menaced the liberties of the South American republics. This assumption is hardly warranted by the facts. Had Dr. Lawson taken pains to develop the policy of France and Russia, he would have found it necessary to alter the tone of much of his narrative, and to give an entirely different emphasis to its conclusions.

It seems to the reviewer that it is a grave question whether an important problem of diplomatic history can be adequately treated from investigations made, like Dr. Lawson's, almost exclusively in a single Foreign Office. It is not thus that the soundest and most critical contributions can be made.

DEXTER PERKINS.

The Colonial Clippers. By Basil Lubbock. Second edition. (Glasgow, James Brown and Son, 1921, pp. xvi, 433, illustrations and plans, 16 s.) In this book the author of *The China Clippers* has given a full and accurate account of the great sailing fleets that plied between Great Britain and Australasia between 1850 and 1890: the emigrant ships, the wool clippers, the iron clippers, and the New Zealand trade. Although "written specially for the officers and seamen of our [British] Mercantile Marine", and in the form of a catalogue, it contains much to interest the student of colonization and of Australasian history. Generous space is allotted to the splendid American-built clipper ships, such as the *Lightning, James Baines, Neptune's Car, Red Jacket,* and *Sierra Nevada,* which distinguished themselves in the Australian trade; many more data will here be found on Donald McKay's peerless quartette of Black-Ballers than in any American book. The work is lavishly and beautifully illustrated.

S. E. M.

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Histoire de la Troisième République. Par Lieutenant-Colonel Émile Simond. Tome IV., *Présidence de M. Loubet, 1899–1906.* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle et Cie., 1922, pp. 591.) Colonel Simond's fourth volume is in almost every respect the exact counterpart of his first three volumes, which were reviewed in the January (1922) number of this journal (XXVII. 353–354). It, too, consists of a general chronicle of public affairs, divided into short sections arranged in chronological order, and of special chapters dealing with colonial, naval, and military matters.

The general chronicle is a little longer, equally arid, but perhaps a trifle less colorless than the corresponding portions of the earlier volumes. The special chapters on the army and the navy again consist almost altogether of statistics and administrative details. The colonial chapter is devoted to Africa. It has the defects but not the merits of the corresponding chapters of the first two volumes.

If this volume exhibits any difference from the first three it is that in this one Colonel Simond reveals a little more of his personal attitude. He is hostile, in varying degrees, to each of the three ministries which were in power during the period of which he writes. He dislikes Waldeck-Rousseau for his action in regard to the Dreyfus case and for the passage of the Law of Associations, Combes for the delation scandal and his measures against the religious orders, and Rouvier on account of the Law of Separation and his handling of the Morocco controversy in 1905.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

La Dernière Ambassade de France en Autriche: Notes et Souvenirs. Par Alfred Dumaine, Ambassadeur de France. (Paris, Plon-Nourrit et Cie., 1921, pp. xiii, 245, 7 fr.) This readable little volume is made up for the most part of charming essays which M. Dumaine published in various French periodicals between 1916 and 1920. One of them deals with Vienna revisited in 1919. He found the pleasure-loving Viennese as pleasure-loving as ever, crowding the sidewalks and the cinemas, and without rancor either toward the former Hapsburgs or the present Allied officers; of the economic distress he says but little. The larger part of the volume consists of cleverly drawn pen-portraits of the leading personages whom he encountered while French ambassador at Vienna from 1912 to 1914—Francis Joseph and the archdukes, Berchtold and his associates at the Ballplatz, and his own colleagues in the diplomatic corps. Among those whom he singles out in several passages for special condemnation was the German ambassador, Tchirschky.

He was a colleague whom one preferred not to meet unless it was strictly necessary to talk with him. Under an exterior of a man of the best society and though acquitting himself of the necessary courtesies with an automatic exactness and precision, it was impossible for him to conceal for more than ten minutes the violence of his character, his pride, and his desire to dominate. . . . A poor imitation of Bismarck.

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he reminded one only of the latter's faults. . . . The success of his career, due to one of the least justified caprices of the emperor, had puffed him up with infatuation [pp. 131–133].

M. Dumaine strongly insists on the French thesis that Germany all the time was egging Austria on to war and that Berchtold was but a careless weakling, thoroughly subject to Tchirschky's dictation—a view not wholly supported by the documents published by Kautsky and by the Reichstag Investigating Committee.

On the Balkan wars and the events leading to the 1914 crisis, M. Dumaine touches but lightly and briefly. One is surprised that the author, being in such a good position for observation, gives so little new or first-hand information on the causes of the war. He seems inclined to accept the reports of others. He repeats, for instance, Mr. Wickham Steed's fantastic but unsubstantiated story that at Konopischt on June 12 Emperor William and Francis Ferdinand planned to partition Austria and rearrange the map of Central Europe in such a way as to provide crowns for the children of the archduke's morganatic wife.

S. B. F.

Letters from the Front: being a Record of the Part played by Officers of the Bank in the Great War, 1914–1919. In two volumes. (Toronto, the Canadian Bank of Commerce, [1921], pp. clix, 2, 344; xlix, 498.) These volumes, published by the Canadian Bank of Commerce as a memorial record of the men and women of its staff who entered the military service of the empire, will make an appeal especially to two classes of readers—to those who saw active service in any capacity and to those who are professionally interested in the history of the Great War. The letters cover almost the entire period of the war and it is impossible for one who served "over there" to read them without recalling with renewed vividness his own share in the great struggle. There is indeed a very fine literary and dramatic quality in quite a number of the letters, as for example, Lieutenant Newton's (I. 115) or Lieutenant Patterson's (I. 128) or Lieutenant Jones's (I. 200). It is somewhat invidious to mention these when there are many others of the same high quality. Several members of the Bank's contingent wrote quite frequently during the years 1915–1918 and their letters offer a most interesting opportunity to study the process of making a first-class veteran soldier out of a bank clerk. This is particularly true of the missives of Lieutenant Vidler.

For the professional student of history the collection is harder to evaluate. With over 1700 employees of the Bank in the service it would seem that more than 315 letters written by 185 men would have been received. If so, it is important to the historian to know upon what principle selection was made. Furthermore, letters as historical evidence must generally be regarded with suspicion of a conscious desire on the part

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of the writer to produce a certain effect. Such letters are those of Cadet McClafferty (I. 182) and Lieutenant Newton (I. 195). However, on the whole your reviewer gathers from all the letters, taken together, a clear impression of faith in the righteousness of the cause and quiet confidence as to the outcome. It is the spirit which pervades these letters which must constitute their chief value as historical evidence. They are all written by privates or company officers and consequently they are little concerned with large operations or questions of strategy, and yet of great interest to the historian will be the enthusiasm shown when the German superiority in quantity and quality of shell fire was overcome or when British command of the air was established or over the spectacular success of the tanks at Cambrai.

The second volume contains an exceedingly valuable résumé of the military operations of the war and brief biographies of all the men who left the service of the Bank to join the colors. There are no typographical errors of importance and the indexing is adequate.

F. L. Thompson.

La Gloire de Verdun: les Faits, le Commandement, le Soldat. Par le Commandant Breveté H. Bouvard. [Les Cahiers de la Victoire.] (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1922, pp. vii, 165, 6 fr.) It will be many years before the name of Verdun loses its power to thrill the human race. There was enacted one of the mightiest struggles ever waged by two nations for the triumph of their ideals. Even at this late date, therefore, we welcome this concise but most interesting history of the battle of Verdun by Major Bouvard, the well-known author of the *Military Lessons of the War.*

It was a happy thought to recall, first, as a background for the recent struggle, the relation of Verdun to the military life of western Europe, the geographical character of the surrounding country, and the importance of that ancient fortress in the defensive system of France.

Major Bouvard rightly maintains that the part played by Verdun in the Great War was not simply the glorious and tragic episode of 1916 but a much larger rôle which began with the first battle of the Marne to end only with the decisive American offensive and the final victory. All through the war Verdun remained the fearless and unconquered outpost threatening the flank of the German army and guaranteeing the safety of Paris.

Although written in a tone of high moral elevation and permeated with heartfelt admiration for the heroic soldiers that held the fortress, the book is primarily of a technical nature and contains authoritative information as to the strategy of the battle and the distribution of forces.

In the last chapters, due credit is given the American army for its glorious participation in the military operations of the sector of Verdun. First of all, on the twelfth of September, 1918, General Pershing by the

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conquest of the famous salient of St. Mihiel definitely removed the menace to the fortress from the south, and in the remaining weeks before the Armistice he cleared the ground to the Meuse.

"Thus", concludes the author, "the American soldiers magnificently continued the work of their French brothers of 1916."

PAUL PERIGORD.

The Conquest of New Granada: being the Life of Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada. By R. B. Cunninghame Graham. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922, pp. xi, 272, $4.00.) The author has added another volume to his growing list of biographies of the Conquistadores, and one his publishers do not hesitate to compare with the classic accounts of Parkman and Prescott. Mr. Graham's familiarity with Hispanic America and his previous offerings in the field lead us to expect a worthy production, but personally we prefer to compare the present work with that by the late Sir Clements R. Markham bearing the same title. Curiously enough our author never once specifically mentions this book, and this significant omission must perforce serve as our cue.

Markham devoted only about a third of his modest volume to the actual exploits of Quesada, but one will find it useful as a sort of guide to the more extensive present offering. In this Mr. Graham chiefly relies on the *Noticias Historiales* of Fray Pedro Simon, but supplements his chief source with occasional references to more familiar narratives, and to his own travel experiences. The resultant product is not wholly satisfactory, as regards either style or subject-matter. There is a noticeable tendency to philosophize about the obvious and to lug in miscellaneous information. There are a few misspellings and typographical errors and several useless accents, not to mention the omission of a necessary one in the subtitle. The author seems to follow no definite rule in regard to paragraphs or foot-notes and he continually repeats in the latter the Spanish words of perfectly obvious phrases. There are occasional misstatements and too few definite references to authorities. These, however, are only minor blemishes. His work as a whole is commendable. His hero was a notable Spanish conqueror, less audacious than Cortés, but more humane than Pizarro. He obviously tried to imitate both, but the kingdom of the Chibchas proved exceedingly difficult to enter and the returns for his heroic efforts far less gainful than the rewards of his more noted exemplars. More fortunate than they, he was able to return to the scene of his conquests and there to round out an honored but strenuous old age. His name may never become a household word, but Mr. Graham's enthusiastic story will help to make it so.

ISAAC JOSLIN COX.

Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors. By John R. Swanton. [Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 73.] (Wash-

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ington, Government Printing Office, 1922, pp. 492, $1.00.) This monograph, like Swanton's other study of the *Tribes of the Lower Mississippi,* is a record of ethnological researches of great utility for the historian of the frontier. It deals in encyclopaedic fashion with the distribution, relationships, and early fortunes of the great Creek confederacy, including tribes like the Yuchi and Yamasee and Shawnee who, in their decline, merged wholly or in part with the Creeks; and of neighboring Indians who influenced Creek history. The later, better known episodes of the Creek and Seminole wars and of the removal westward are outside its scope. There is added a comprehensive survey of Indian population in the Southeast. Eight plates present reproductions of contemporary maps, while two other maps have been painstakingly compiled to illustrate distribution and migration. The sources are largely the records of explorers and colonists, Spanish, French, and English. The footnotes are better evidence of the author's wide and critical reading of contemporary documents, many still in manuscript, than the inadequate bibliography.

Even more completely than Swanton's earlier monograph this is essentially aboriginal history—only incidentally concerned, however, with the contacts of the whites and the Indians. The author has clearly established his main contention, that the Creek confederacy was evolved over a long period of time by the aggregation of many elements, some far removed, linguistically, from the nucleus of Muskogee; and that there were notable accompanying changes in the location of many southern tribes. These developments were promoted by various influences, but especially by frontier warfare. The Yamasee War of 1715, in particular, is shown to have been a turning-point in the fortunes of many of these folk. Other influences imported by the Europeans are given rather less than their due weight. Many obscure tribal movements must surely be referred to the rivalries of trade.

V. W. Crane.

The Story of the Arndts: the Life, Antecedents and Descendants of Bernhard Arndt, who Emigrated to Pennsylvania in the Year 1731. By John Stover Arndt. (Philadelphia, Christopher Sower Company, 1922, pp. 427, $5.00.) The Arndts came to Pennsylvania in 1731, from Baumholder, Germany, because a pig, fattening in the stable against the needs of winter, had to be sold in order to meet a special tax levied to meet the expenses of a wedding in the duke's household (p. 14). The account of the rise and growth of this family in the new land of freedom and opportunity contains all the elements of romance, adventure, and achievement that typify the experience of so many of our early families, and make so fascinating the story of our social development. Here was a poor immigrant family, consisting of the parents and four children, which in less than two hundred years multiplied through eight generations

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into 1240 descendants, scattered over all sections of the country, identified with nearly every form of professional, political, and commercial activity, and affiliated with nearly every religious belief. Unfortunately, the book also gives evidence of the tendency among our early American families to decline in numbers with the passing generations; for it is noticeable that among the earlier branches of the family records of six and more children are common, whereas if there are any children to bless later unions, seldom is the number above one or two.

The basis of the early history of the family, both in Germany and in America, is a narrative written in a family Bible by Capt. John Arndt, a Revolutionary soldier who was wounded at the battle of Long Island. At the outbreak of the Revolution there were eight Arndts between the ages of sixteen and fifty, and every one of them served in the patriot army. A full chapter is devoted to an account of the services of Maj. Jacob Arndt in the French and Indian War, in the last general assembly of the proprietary government of Pennsylvania, and as a member of later councils and assemblies of that state. Extended mention is also made of Charles C. P. Arndt, who, when a member of the territorial council of Wisconsin, was shot on the floor of the assembly (*Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, March, 1922).

Outside the introductory chapters on the early history of the family, most of the genealogical sketches were prepared by Mr. Warren S. Ely, librarian of the Bucks County (Pa.) Historical Society. The arrangement throughout is good, and may well serve as a model in this respect for works of family history. The illustrations are not too numerous, and there is an index to persons as well as a general index.

The reviewer, a native of Adams County, Pennsylvania, was disappointed in finding no reference to the founders of Arendtsville in that county; probably there was no reason to expect this in the story of the branch of the Arndt family contained in this volume.

L. F. S.

George Washington. By William Roscoe Thayer. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922, pp. ix, 5, 274, $3.50.) Mr. Thayer has produced a well-written, fairly proportioned, and thoroughly orthodox history, which records with accuracy and with a good sense of relative values the principal facts of Washington's life and the leading events of the period of his public activity.

The author confesses or rather avows that he is maintaining a thesis. He is endeavoring to humanize the demi-god or superman Washington, to portray the father of his country as a flesh-and-blood man who was far removed from the inaccessible personage of heroic proportions but of shadowy outline, of popular misconception. He brings many facts and relates many incidents to support his thesis and succeeds in winning the reader's assent but not in compelling his conviction. Mr. Thayer

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occasionally yields to the temptation which besets all who write motivated history. Speaking of the charge that Washington was seeking a rich wife, the author states that he "no doubt had a clear idea of what constitutes desirable qualifications in marriage, but I believe he would have married a poor girl out of the work-house if he had really loved her", which possibly might have been true but is not substantiated by evidence.

Interesting illustrative material has been taken from Ford's edition of the *Writings of Washington,* while for the facts of the historical narrative the writer seems to depend almost wholly upon the better known and accessible histories. Consequently, save in the emphasis placed upon the human traits of Washington, the book contains little of interest to the student who is fairly familiar with the history of the period.

Mr. Thayer seems to be somewhat confused as to the party history of Washington's first administration. He states (p. 186) that the place of the Anti-Federalists "was taken principally by the Republicans over against whom were the Democrats. A few years later these parties exchanged names". Political scientists would object to the designation (p. 154) of *requisitions* apportioned by the Continental Congress among the states as *taxes.* Historians will scarcely agree with the opinion (p. 161) that although James Wilson was a prominent man at the time of the convention his "fame is bedraggled or quite faded now". Neither can one acquiesce in the persistent fallacy (p. 174) that the oratory of Hamilton routed the Anti-Federalists at the Poughkeepsie Convention and won the victory for the Federalists. Melancthon Smith held the Clintonian forces intact notwithstanding the oratory of Hamilton until the arrival of the news that nine states had ratified. This changed vitally the situation and rather than remain out of a Union already formed the Anti-Federalist majority broke and the convention ratified the Constitution.

The volume under review takes its place among the better short biographies of Washington, but it can hardly be awarded pre-eminence among them. The definitive one-volume life of Washington remains to be written.

MARSHALL S. BROWN.

Political Ideas of the American Revolution: Britannic-American Contributions to the Problem of Imperial Organization, 1765–1775. By Randolph Greenfield Adams, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in Trinity College, North Carolina. (Durham, N. C., Trinity College Press, 1922, pp. 207, $2.00.) The author frankly says that his book is meant as a contribution to international law, but his method has been truly historical and the reviewer can discover no instance where the author has fitted his facts to his theory, a custom quite too common among writers on politics. His book is also, as he says, a chapter of Britannic imperial history and a fragment of our own history. Believing

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that the "monster of sovereignty" is the chief stumbling-block of international co-operation, he has studied the contribution that America made to the supreme problem of politics while working within the laboratory of the Britannic Commonwealth. The iron fetters of a brief review do not permit the development of the thesis that even in the struggle which rent the empire there was being worked out the idea of a league of nations, later to be much more nearly realized in the British Commonwealth of Nations "without too much idle discussion as to the residence of sovereignty". Chapters on the British Imperial Problem in the eighteenth century; the early glimpses of the idea of a Commonwealth of Nations; theories about taxation and representation, and as to the things Parliament could not do; and finally the eighteenth-century discussions on limiting and dividing sovereignty, and the relation of such arguments to modern thought, all constitute a most illuminating commentary upon the greatest problem of our day. The book is exceedingly well written, clear, graceful, sure, not hidebound in expression, and exposing a wide range of knowledge beyond the bounds of the materials in hand. It is a pity that so excellent a book could not have been better printed.

C. H. Van Tyne.

Legislative Procedure: Parliamentary Practices and the Course of Business in the Framing of Statutes. By Robert Luce, A.M. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922, pp. vi, 628, $5.00.) This volume is announced by the publishers as the first of a series of four. The others are to be: *Legislative Assemblies—their Framework, Make-up, Character, Characteristics, Habits, and Manners*; *Legislative Principles—the History and Theory of Lawmaking by Representative Government*; and *Legislative Problems—the Merits and Defects of the Lawmaking Branch of Government, with a Consideration of Tendencies and Remedies.*

In nearly every chapter of the present volume the author accompanies a discussion of the present practice in the various legislatures and an argument as to what the practice should be, with a brief statement of its historical development in Parliament and in American legislatures. While making good use of the *Records of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay,* of Hinds's *Precedents,* and of state constitutions, past and present, he has, for the most part, attempted no research in manuscript journals or other original sources. In his search in secondary sources for widely scattered material, Mr. Luce has been painstaking. That the result in many cases is not adequate is not his fault. No writer on legislative problems can hope to do better until historians specializing in such problems, or students of such problems with adequate training in historical research, furnish us for each state a study of what actually has been and is now the practice under the constitution and legislative rules of that state.

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In addition to the subjects relating to procedure there are chapters on Debate, Oratory, Leadership, Partisanship, Wording of Laws, and Helps for Law-Makers.

For the student of political science and the legislator the book is of absorbing interest and great importance. Especially valuable is the critical analysis of the methods employed and the rules observed in legislative bodies, and suggestions as to what the practice should be. The suggestions are fully supported by argument and the opposing views fairly stated.

For reasons not apparent (there is no preface) no mention is made of the subject of organization of the legislative body, either generally, or in relation to contested elections. Possibly this subject is reserved for the second volume. One matter of increasing importance in federal legislation—the function of the conference committee—is not treated as fully as could be desired, and it is disappointing that more space is not given to the procedure of the national Senate. No bibliography is appended, and in too many cases sources are not cited.

Mr. Luce writes clearly, vividly, and entertainingly, and enlivens with a vein of humor many pages that in less skillful hands might well be tedious.

MIDDLETON BEAMAN.

The English Traveller in America, 1785–1835. By Jane Louise Mesick, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1922, pp. ix, 370, $2.50.) The author of this interesting work has taken the books written by nearly eighty English travellers in the United States whose experiences describe the impressions made upon them by the country and its people during the half-century after the achievement of independence. She has not considered the French and Germans who visited America and wrote about their visits, but has limited her examination to those who came from Great Britain and who may be supposed to have been less alien in their views than Continental observers.

Instead of taking them up chronologically or paying any great attention to the geographical scope of their journeyings, she has treated separately the different subjects upon which the travellers wrote. Thus we find chapters upon Slavery, Trade and Finance, Religion, Care of the Unfortunate, etc.

The style is clear and pleasant and the opinions of the visitors are stated with fairness and are plainly compared with each other. The chief criticism to be made upon the book is that the author accepts the statement of the traveller in several cases as accurate, without further confirmation. She is not quite fair to the American Colonization Society (p. 134), the mint was never established in Washington (p. 198), while the number of burials in Trinity Church Yard (p. 257) is surely

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much overstated. The work is very well indexed, which is especially important for a book the outlines of whose divisions are, of necessity, rather vague. One of the most valuable chapters is that entitled Famous Controversies, in which is given a succinct account of the attacks made on the United States in such works as the *Quarterly Review* and the travels of Captain Hall and Mrs. Trollope and the replies which were made to their attacks.

As we are carefully told, the study is necessarily limited by such facts as that the travellers rarely left a well-beaten track, and chiefly noted such facts and objects as appeared to them remarkable or peculiar. Within these limits, the summarizing of the impressions of the English travellers is useful to every student of American history and the book is also one which may well be recommended for pleasant reading.

BERNARD C. STEINER.

The American Party System: an Introduction to the Study of Political Parties in the United States. By Charles Edward Merriam, Professor of Political Science in the University of Chicago. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. x, 439, $3.00.) Some time ago I inquired of a student of mine about the attitude of the Democrats of his native state of Maine on a controverted question that was then before the country. "Oh!" was his reply, "our family doesn't *know any Democrats!*" The reply was not intended to be snobbish, nor did it convey anything except the fact—namely that political affiliations in parts of New England are based in large measure on racial and social considerations.

The discussion of just these social, racial, sectional, and religious factors in party alignment (ch. I.) is, to the historian, the most useful part of Professor Merriam's book.

> Examination of a very few cases [he asserts] will reveal the early age and origin of party affiliations, will show how they are encrusted with family and social interests, with associations and with early recollections until it becomes an exceedingly difficult matter to change them. Let the average voter ask himself when and why he first became a partisan, and the non-rational character of the process will at once become evident.

For one thing, this chapter forces the historian to question to what extent any of the presidential elections which he describes was a real referendum on public questions, and to what extent it was a mere counting of heads to discover how many of them were prejudiced one way or another at a given time. In the second place, the chapter justifies the recent tendency to devote less attention to past politics, and more to social, racial, and other movements in American history.

Another suggestive portion of the book is the account (p. 220 ff.) of the activities of such professional and trade organizations as the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in the procurement of legislation. Unhappily the

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historian is unable to evaluate influences of this kind for lack of accurate information.

In other respects Professor Merriam's book is the usual account of party organization and activity in the United States, but told extremely well and with an unusually firm grip on the realities of our form of government. The foot-notes are excellent guides for further reading.

There are a few mistakes, which are slips rather than errors: Bryan was not nominated in 1912 (p. 287); the name Roosevelt appears four times in the list of presidential and vice-presidential candidates (p. 288) —it would be clearer if initials indicated that only three of these entries referred to Theodore; the statement (p. 289) that since 1876 all candidates of the major parties have lived east of the Mississippi would be objected to by a former resident of Lincoln, Nebraska; "44, 40 or Fight"; the percentages of Republican and Democratic votes (p. 325), 1880–1892, are inaccurate.

C. R. L.

From Isolation to Leadership: a Review of American Foreign Policy. Revised. By John Holladay Latané, Professor of American History in the Johns Hopkins University. (Garden City and New York, Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1922, pp. 296, $1.20.) According to Professor Latané's statement in the preface to this reissue of the work which formerly appeared in 1918, just before the Armistice, a friend suggested that the title might well be "From Isolation to Leadership, and Back". And, indeed, despite the assertion of the author that he does not "regard the verdict of 1920 as an expression of the final judgment of the American people", the reader senses a hint of deep disappointment running through the latter and new portion of the work.

The purpose of the author is to show how the "policy of isolation" came into existence, and how through force of circumstances it had actually broken down long before the World War, although it persisted as a phrase to conjure with. This theory of isolation had become a tradition only, "but a tradition which has tied the hands of American diplomats and caused the American public to ignore what was actually going on in the world".

The chapter-headings indicate pretty accurately the field covered: Origin of the Policy of Isolation, Formulation of the Monroe Doctrine, the Monroe Doctrine and the European Balance of Power, International Co-operation without the Sanction of Force, The Open-Door Policy, Anglo-American Relations, Imperialistic Tendencies of the Monroe Doctrine, and the New Pan-Americanism. Chapter X., on the Failure of Neutrality and Isolation, has been rewritten to contain a summary of events subsequent to the time when the original work was produced, and the final chapters, on the Treaty of Versailles and the Washington Conference, carry the story down to the spring of 1922.

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A useful thing has been done in pointing out the significant part England played in the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine as well as showing how the same Doctrine, even when it had become tinged with imperialism, was really dependent for continued existence on the changing "balance of power" policies of European governments. To show how partizan politics had not a little to do with shaping American foreign policy, and particularly with the wrecking of President Wilson's programme, is another contribution of the book.

Professor Latané has done good service in bringing out simply and without controversial heat facts which ought to be widely disseminated. As usually is the case, however, one fears that this little book will be read by only a small part of those whom it should reach.

L. B. SHIPPEE.

Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar. By Asa Kyrus Christian. (University of Pennsylvania, 1922, pp. vii, 208.) To the average student of American history, "Mirabeau B. Lamar" is but a name. He is vaguely recalled as sometime president of the Texan republic, but little more is known of him. It is seldom realized that he was the uncle of two better known men, L. Q. C. Lamar and Howell Cobb. Nor is it generally remembered that he was a poet of considerable merit.

Mr. Christian's monograph is then a distinct contribution to the literature of this period of American history, though it makes no claim to be a definitive and complete biography. In its professed intention of setting forth the public services of M. B. Lamar it succeeds very well. About one-eighth of the book is devoted to Lamar's life before and after his term as president of Texas. The rest deals with his administration. For convenience this portion is divided into four phases: domestic affairs, frontier defense, the Santa Fé expedition, foreign affairs.

Of Lamar the public official, Mr. Christian has given a very good account; of Lamar the man, one catches but a glimpse. As the author has studied his sources very carefully, it is to be hoped that he will expand this monograph into a genuine biography through which one may become acquainted with the man Lamar, his personality and his character.

The material is well arranged and drawn mainly from original sources. Occasionally there is such an error as a casual reference to a little-known individual without an explanation of his relation to the narrative. The book has a good bibliography, but the index is utterly inadequate.

MILLEDGE L. BONHAM, JR.

Meade's Headquarters, 1863–1865: Letters of Colonel Theodore Lyman, from the Wilderness to Appomattox. Selected and edited by George R. Agassiz. (Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1922, pp. xv, 371, $4.00.) Theodore Lyman served as volunteer aide on General

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Meade's staff from September, 1863, until the close of the war. A Harvard graduate, a man of independent means, travelled and cultivated, clever and possessing a lively sense of humor, handsome and agreeable, many opportunities were afforded him to witness much that was interesting and important. With Meade his relations were intimate, and he was constantly brought in contact not only with distinguished officers but with many notables, including President Lincoln.

No serious student of "The Wilderness" can afford to miss his account of the events of that campaign as they disclosed themselves to Headquarters; and his admirable portrayals of individuals throw much light on the psychology of the Higher Command. There are amusing references to the idiosyncrasies of the "Great Peppery" as he calls Meade, but Lyman leaves no doubt as to his admiration for Meade as a man and as a soldier. Grant's personality interested him greatly. He writes with warm admiration of the troops in the Wilderness Campaign, an admiration extended to the enemy as well. He deplores the type of men sent to fill the depleted ranks toward the end of the war. "By the Lord! I wish those gentlemen who would overwhelm us with . . . the offscourings of great cities could only see—only *see* a Rebel regiment in all their rags and squalor. If they had eyes they would know that these men are like wolf-hounds and not to be beaten by turnspits."

A note gives at first hand the episode which, in Lyman's opinion, was the beginning of Sheridan's ill-feeling against Warren and Meade. There is a graphic description of Hancock in the thick of battle. Sherman is quoted as saying, "Columbia—pretty much all burned and burned *good*".

Lyman accompanied Meade when he visited Lee's headquarters immediately after the surrender. "Lee did not recognize him and when he found who it was said: 'But what are you doing with all that grey in your beard?' To which Meade promptly replied: 'You have to answer for most of it!'"

Certain references in the letters were manifestly not written under the dates given. This is explained in a note; but it is disconcerting to find an engagement mentioned that not only was not fought until some days later than the date of the letter but later than the dates of letters following.

The book is excellently printed.

A Half Century of Naval Service. By Seaton Schroeder, Rear-Admiral U. S. Navy, retired. (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1922, pp. ix, 2, 444, $4.00.) This book was not written for students of history, and there is not much in it for them. Admiral Schroeder's naval career covered a period more momentous in developing the technique of naval warfare than the three preceding centuries; but, writing as he did for the general public, he has told little of this technical develop-

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ment, or of his own reactions toward it. In the first part of the book, there are a few passages to delight lovers of the old sailing navy; but the latter half is too much filled with reviews, receptions, and balls, with what the governor said and the text of the admiral's after-dinner speeches (original and translation), to be very interesting. The book does show something of the varied duties which officers of the United States navy were (and are) called upon to perform. These included, in Admiral Schroeder's case, dismounting "Cleopatra's Needle" at Alexandria and bringing it to New York, finding the native lair of the tile-fish, charting the Mediterranean, and governing Guam. There is an entertaining chapter on the latter experience, and an informing one on the little-remembered (by us) expedition against Korea of 1871. How many American historians know that our Asiatic squadron, unwanted and uninvited, sailed up the Salée River to negotiate a "treaty of amity and commerce"; that, when the native forts opened fire, a force of 650 men was landed, the forts were gallantly taken by storm, and the Korean garrison, which "fought hopelessly to the last man", slaughtered?

A Journal of the Great War. By Charles G. Dawes, Brigadier-General, Engineers. In two volumes. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1921, pp. xiv, 344; vi, 283, $10.00.) General Dawes's book belongs to the class of *mémoires pour servir,* that is to say, it is a contribution to the history of the war, made by one important and intelligent participant, describing events from his individual point of view, but not constituting a final or wholly adequate history, even of that part of the warfare which fell under his own personal observation. The book can be roughly divided between three general topics, all of which are interesting to the public: (1) an analysis of the work done through the Military Board of Allied Supply, of which General Dawes was the American member; (2) an account of the buying for the American Expeditionary Force, in which General Dawes, as general purchasing agent, acted as a co-ordinator of the various departments of the army; (3) a personal and intimate picture of General Pershing. A great amount of most interesting information and narrative is conveyed, in a direct and forcible style, and the record of what was done in the way of co-ordination will always be valuable, but the degree of co-ordination achieved is, in fact, constantly exaggerated. The personal touches which abound are vivid and pleasing. There are many good illustrations, especially portraits. The last seventy pages of the first volume are occupied with General Dawes's official report to General Pershing, made as American member of the Military Board of Allied Supply. The whole of the second volume is occupied with his final report and daily reports as general purchasing agent.

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Delaware and the Eastern Shore: Some Aspects of a Peninsula Pleasant and Well Beloved. By Edward Noble Vallandigham. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1922, pp. 330, $5.00.) This is not a book of formal history, but it belongs to a class of books more useful to the historian, when done as well as this, than many histories or historical sources. To the student of American history few things are more important than a vivid sense of the character of each particular region, its inhabitants, its formative influences, and its atmosphere. In the case of a region that has changed so little in modern times as that which lies between Delaware and Chesapeake bays—the region embracing the state of Delaware and the "Eastern Shore" of Maryland and Virginia—past and present characteristics illuminate each other, and may well be described together. Mr. Vallandigham proceeds by topics rather than in either a chronological or a geographical order, and interweaves his history with his descriptions. One could not pick out from his book a consecutive history of Delaware or of these eastern counties of Maryland and Virginia. But he is a very intelligent man, who writes excellently, though sometimes with a little obvious intention toward the drawing-room table; he knows well the region which he describes, and loves it (as one rightly should), yet is a man of reading, and of travel elsewhere, and takes a view of its present and its past that is nowise provincial. His historical knowledge is in general sound, and he achieves what he aims at, to explain what this rather charming but little known region is, and what it has been. The book has many illustrations, well reproduced from photographs of extraordinary merit.

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HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Within the last few days before the issue of this number of the *Review*, December 27–30, the Association has been holding at New Haven its thirty-seventh annual meeting. In addition to attractive elements of the programme indicated in the preceding number, mention should be made of two groups of papers of common interest to historians and archaeologists, presented at two joint sessions of this Association and the Archaeological Institute of America, the second of them devoted to the subject of papyri; of a session devoted to legal history, a new practice much to be commended; and of a meeting of the "patriotic societies", devoted especially to the work and plans of their Connecticut branches. The Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, addresses the Association upon Some Aspects of Our Foreign Relations, and Sir Robert Borden on Certain Aspects of the Political Relations between English-Speaking Peoples. Varied and hospitable social entertainments are included in the programme. The presidential address, by Professor Haskins, appears in earlier pages of this number. Our April issue will contain the customary record of the meeting and of the papers.

Vol. I. of the *Annual Report* for 1919 is in page-proof, and is expected to be printed and distributed in the first months of the year. Vol. II., parts 1 and 2, containing papers of Moses Austin and Stephen F. Austin of Texas, and to be bound as two volumes of some nine hundred pages each, is in galley-proof. It is intended that vol. I. of the next *Annual Report* shall contain (in order to "catch up") the formal records and committee reports of the meetings of 1920, 1921, and 1922. Meanwhile, the supplementary volume of bibliography, *Writings on American History, 1920,* is nearly ready for issue, in advance of the other volumes attributed to that year. The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize Essay on G. J. A. Ducher and Commercial Policy in the French Revolution by Lieut. F. L. Nussbaum, the last of the prize essays to be independently published, is awaiting only the completion and printing of its index.

It will be remembered by many members that the quota of *Annual Reports* allowed to the Association under the printing act is only two thousand, while the membership runs several hundred beyond that figure, and that therefore the assistant secretary is instructed to send the *Annual Reports* only to those members who have expressed a desire for them. New members are always notified of this provision. Yet, since this is not always kept in mind by members, new or old, it may be useful to mention that the Association still has a considerable supply of the following re-

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ports: 1913, vols. I. and II.; 1914, vol. II. (the General Index); 1916, vols. I. and II.; 1917; 1918, vols. I. and II.; and *Writings on American History,* 1918 and 1919. Members desiring any of these may obtain them by writing to the assistant secretary, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

The Pacific Coast Branch met at Stanford University on December 1 and 2, Professor Payson J. Treat presiding. Professor Henri Pirenne, of Ghent, addressed the society on the subject of Mohammed and Charlemagne, Professor Henry S. Lucas, of Washington, on Erasmus, Mr. J. J. Hill, of Stanford, on the American Fur Trade in the Far Southwest; and there were other papers.

The American Council of Learned Societies (of which the American Historical Association is a member), while still waiting for means which will enable it to undertake the extensive duties for which it was designed, has appointed a committee for the preliminary consideration of projects for the preparation of an adequate Dictionary of American Biography, comparable to the British *Dictionary of National Biography.* The committee consists of Messrs. John Erskine, of Columbia University, Thomas W. Page, of the new Institute of Economics, Frederic L. Paxson, of Wisconsin, Frederick J. Turner, of Harvard, Robert S. Woodward, formerly president of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and J. F. Jameson, chairman.

PERSONAL

Henry Vignaud, dean of the Americans in Paris, died there on September 16, at the age of ninety-one. His career in governmental service was a notable one, for, a Louisiana editor and Confederate captain, he went out to Paris in 1863 as a secretary to the Confederate envoy Slidell, yet in 1872 is found assisting at Geneva the Alabama Claims Commission, and from 1875 to 1907 was secretary to the American legation and embassy in Paris, always highly regarded by his government, and by the Americans who came there, for he was a man of many endearing qualities. A scholar of extraordinary learning and acuteness in the field of the early voyages and discoveries in America, he was distinguished by a long series of writings, chiefly relating to Columbus. The chief were the *Letter and Chart of Toscanelli* (1902), *Étude Critique sur la Vie de Colomb* (1905), and, the culmination of his studies, his *Histoire Critique de la Grande Entreprise de Christophe Colomb* (1911), in which he set forth, with a wealth of learning, his view that Columbus set sail on his first voyage with the object of discovering new islands, rather than of going to India—views summarized in the little book which, at the age of ninety, this astonishing veteran produced last year, *Le Vrai Christophe Colomb et la Légende.*

Austin Scott, for forty years a member of the faculty of Rutgers College, and one of the few remaining original members of the American

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Historical Association, died on August 15, 1922, at the age of 74. During the first years of the Johns Hopkins University he lectured there on American history, being at the same time assistant to Mr. George Bancroft in his historical work. From 1882 to 1891 he was professor of history, from 1891 to 1906 president, from 1906 to his death professor of political science and public law, in Rutgers College. He was an earnest, impressive, and influential teacher, a genial friend and a public-spirited man, active not only in the interests of his college but also in those of the history and historical society of New Jersey.

Sir Julian S. Corbett, the British government's official naval historian of the war, died on September 21, at the age of nearly 68. The chief works of his earlier years, *Drake and the Tudor Navy* (1898), *The Successors of Drake* (1900), *England in the Mediterranean* (1904), *England and the Seven Years' War* (1907), and *The Campaign of Trafalgar* (1910), covered admirably a large portion of English naval history. He was the author of important writings on naval strategy, and edited for the Navy Records Society several volumes of its publications. The Committee of Imperial Defence selected him as the official naval historian of the war, and in 1920 and 1921 the first two volumes of his history were published, and immediately received warm admiration. He contributed to one of the earliest numbers of this journal (II: 1) a valuable article on "The Colonel and his Command", and frequently reviewed books of naval history for it; his review of the fifth volume of de la Roncière in our October number may have been his last published writing.

Miss Margaret S. Morriss, dean of the Women's College in Brown University, has been made associate professor of American history there.

Dr. Theophile J. Meek, late of Meadville Theological Seminary, has been appointed professor of Biblical literature and Semitic languages in Bryn Mawr College.

Dr. James E. Gillespie, formerly instructor in history in the University of Illinois, is now assistant professor of European history in the Pennsylvania State College.

Professors John H. Latané and W. W. Willoughby of the Johns Hopkins University have for several months been absent on a tour of South America, returning at the beginning of January.

Dr. Thomas P. Martin has been appointed assistant professor of history in the University of Louisville.

Mr. V. Alton Moody, hitherto of the Middle Tennessee State Normal School, has become assistant professor of history in Albion College, Michigan.

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GENERAL

The Fifth International Congress of Historical Studies, appointed to take place in Brussels, April 8–15, gives promise already of a large attendance and much success. The sections thus far organized embrace respectively Oriental history, that of Greece and Rome, Byzantine studies, medieval, modern-and-contemporary, ecclesiastical, legal, and economic history, the history of religions, of civilization, of education, art, and archaeology, historical methodology and the auxiliary sciences, the history of the World War, and matters of archives and the publication of historical texts. At present it appears that twenty or thirty American scholars will be present, and there is likely to be a section or session for American history. The secretary is Dr. F. L. Ganshof, 12 Rue Jacques Jordaens, Brussels, to whom applications for membership may be sent; but Americans intending to be present are particularly requested to communicate with the chairman of the American Historical Association's committee on the subject, J. F. Jameson.

The historical congress which accompanied the centennial commemoration of Brazilian independence was held at Rio de Janeiro on September 8–15, in the rooms of the Sociedade de Historia e Geographia Brasileira. The president of the republic officially opened and closed the congress, which embraced some fifty delegates, representing nearly all the American countries. Many papers were read in the various sections, and many will be printed by the society named. Among the papers read we note the following, by writers from the United States: papers on the Commercial Relations between the United States and Brazil from 1798 to 1812, by Dr. Charles L. Chandler, on the same for 1822–1922, by Dr. Julius Klein, on James Watson Webb, U. S. Minister to Brazil 1861–1869, by Mr. N. Andrew N. Cleven, a comparative paper on Minas Geraes and California, by Professor Percy A. Martin, one on the Treatment of Slaves in the Brazilian Empire, by Miss Mary W. Williams, and others by Professors I. J. Cox and Herman James. The formal address on behalf of the American Historical Association was delivered by Mr. Chandler. Other American historical scholars present and representing that association were the ambassador of the United States, Mr. Edwin V. Morgan, and Dr. William L. Schurz, commercial attaché in Rio.

The Twenty-first International Congress of Americanists will be held in Holland in 1924, by invitation of the Dutch government. That of 1925 is scheduled to be held at Gothenburg, Sweden; that of 1926 in Philadelphia.

It is well known that there has been a long and wearisome struggle for a suitable National Archive Building in Washington such as every other civilized nation provides itself with as a matter of course. Every individual member of Congress agrees that we ought to have one, but last February the House threw out, with enthusiasm and by a vote of 113

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to 8, a Senate amendment appropriating money for the purchase of a site. The principal argument was that the government already owned several available sites in Washington, which is not the case, but the disproof is complicated; others held that, while the building was needed, post-office buildings in certain localities were needed more. As for the present session, the Treasury estimate for the purpose has been cut out by the Director of the Budget at the outset, and will not even reach the House. The latest phase of this discreditable record is that Senator Smoot, chairman of the Public Buildings Commission, despairing for the present of securing any appropriation for the building, proposes to buy now a million dollars' worth of steel stacks, install them in the great inner court of the old Pension Office (a building not fire-proof, with a wooden roof), and concentrate there, for the time being, those overflowing masses of records and papers that now crowd all government buildings, clog all government business, and cost $110,000 per annum for rents of privately owned buildings, scattered, unsafe, and unsuitable. Well said old Oxenstjerna on his death-bed, to his son, "Nescis quantilla prudentia homines regantur"!

The Pulitzer prize of $1000 for the best biography teaching patriotic and unselfish service to the people has been awarded to Hamlin Garland for his work *A Daughter of the Middle Border,* which, with the author's earlier volume, *A Son of the Middle Border,* constitutes the life-story of the author's parents (Macmillan).

The second volume of Oswald Spengler's much discussed *Der Untergang des Abendlandes; Umrisse einer Morphologie der Weltgeschichte* has appeared under the title *Welthistorische Perspectiven* (Munich, Beck, 1922, pp. 635). Meanwhile, comments on his earlier volume continue unabated. A clear and incisive attack upon his position is K. von Schück's *Spengler's Geschichtsphilosophie; eine Kritik* (Karlsruhe, Braun, 1921, pp. 39). A study of the religious position of Spengler, *Zum Untergang des Abendlandes* (Königsberg, Bons, 1922, pp. 56), is by J. Wenzel. Otto Selz makes a careful examination of Spengler's method in *Oswald Spengler und die Intuitive Methode in der Geschichtsforschung* (Bonn, Cohen, 1922, pp. 30).

Messrs. Longmans announce revised and enlarged editions, brought down to the present time, of Professor Clive Day's *History of Commerce,* Professor E. L. Bogart's *Economic History of the United States,* and Professor D. R. Dewey's *Financial History of the United States.*

The October number of the *Historical Outlook* contains Another Shot at Mr. Wells, by Professor Lynn Thorndike, of Western Reserve University; a paper, by Dr. George F. Zook, on Economic Relations of England and Ireland, 1660–1750; the reports of the Philadelphia Conference on history in junior and senior high schools; and the official report on history text-books used in the public schools of New York City. The November number contains a paper by Professor Harry E. Barnes, of

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Clark University, on the Significance of Sociology for the "New" or Synthetic History, read at the St. Louis meeting of the American Historical Association last December, with discussions of the paper then read by Drs. J. F. Rippy, M. S. Handman, W. B. Bodenhafer, and J. E. Gillespie. The December number is occupied with statements of the plans and progress of the National Council for the Social Studies.

History for October contains an article entitled An Apology for Historical Research, by Professor A. F. Pollard, adversative to that of Professor Barker in the July number; one on the Struggle for the Right of Association in Fourteenth-Century Florence, by Professor N. Rodolico of Messina; a survey by Mr. J. A. Williamson of the modifications brought to the story of the Pilgrim Fathers by recent research; and an examination into the number of casualties involved in the Peterloo Massacre of 1819, by Mr. G. M. Trevelyan.

The chief historical articles in the *Catholic Historical Review* for October are a paper on the general subject of the Study of Church History by Bishop Shahan, rector of the Catholic University of America, and a bibliography of the principal publications of 1918–1920, inclusive, in that field, prepared by Rev. W. F. Whitman.

In the October number of the *Journal of Negro History* Herbert B. Alexander compares slavery in Brazil and in the United States; there is an article by George W. Brown on the Origins of Abolition in Santo Domingo, and one by M. M. Fisher on Lott Cary, the colonizing missionary in Liberia, accompanied by many documents relating to his life.

We receive from London the announcement of *The Slavonic Review*, edited by Messrs. Bernard Pares, R. W. Seton-Watson, and Harold Williams, and published thrice a year by the School of Slavonic Studies in the University of London, King's College, beginning June, 1922. A portion of the contents will always be historical, though Slavonic economics, philology, and literature are also to be represented. The first number contains an article on the Early Diplomatic Relations of Great Britain and Serbia, by Mr. Michael Gavrilović, Jugo-Slav minister in London; one on the Composition of the Earlier Russian Chronicles, by Professor Nevill Forbes of Oxford; and one on the Russian Radicals of the Sixties, by H. T. Cheshire.

Climatic Changes, their Nature and Causes (Yale University Press), by Dr. Ellsworth Huntington and Professor Stephen S. Visher, presents Dr. Huntington's "solar cyclonic hypothesis", traces the evolution of climatic changes over great periods of time, and discusses their relations to geological phenomena and to human history.

The Population Problem: a Study in Human Evolution (Oxford University Press, pp. 316), by A. M. Carr-Saunders, is an attempt to survey the problem named from an historical and evolutionary standpoint.

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Dr. R. L. Sherlock's book entitled *Man as a Geological Agent: an Account of his Action on Inanimate Nature* (London, Witherby) is a comprehensive and valuable study of a field having large importance in the history of civilization.

Sir James G. Frazer has accomplished the seemingly impossible task of compressing into a few hundred pages the wealth of material contained in the original twelve volumes of *The Golden Bough,* and has brought out (Macmillan) a new one-volume edition of that famous work.

Mr. Daniel B. Updike has made a most important contribution to the bibliographical department of historical lore in the two volumes of his *Printing Types, their History, Forms, and Use* (Harvard University Press), in which, with great learning, the history of typography is discussed, with 367 illustrations derived from volumes in the chief American libraries of rarities.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Spangenberg, *Die Perioden der Weltgeschichte* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXVII. 1); George Sarton, *The Teaching of the History of Science* (Isis, IV. 2).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: M. Besnier, *Chronique d'Histoire Ancienne Grecque et Romaine,* I. (Revue des Questions Historiques, October).

The third volume of the *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie* of M. Weber has appeared under the title *Das Antike Judentum* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1921, pp. vii, 442). The first part deals with the Israelitish league and Jehovah, the second with the origin of the Jewish outcast classes.

Raffaele Pettazzoni, whose history of Persian religion appeared recently, has published a history of Greek religion under the title *La Religione nella Grecia Antica fino al Alessandro* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1921, pp. xii, 416). It is of equal merit and importance with its predecessor.

Die Antike Kultur in ihren Hauptzügen dargestellt (Leipzig, Teubner, 1922, pp. 242) by F. Poland, E. Reisinger, and R. Wagner, replaces the earlier *Die Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur,* which appeared in 1913. It is an unusually serviceable summary.

Professor Johannes Kromayer, of Leipzig, and Col. Dr. Georg Veith, of the War Office archives in Vienna, with assistance from various scholars, have produced an elaborate *Schlachten-Atlas zur Antiken Kriegsgeschichte* (Leipzig, H. Wagner and E. Debes) of which the first two *Lieferungen* have reached us. These two contain twelve plates (out of 34, to present in all 120 maps), and are sold at two dollars each. Upon the basis of all modern researches, including those of the learned authors, and of many personal inspections of battlefields, the maps illustrate battles and sieges from the Allia to the siege of Numantia, 390–133 B.C., on a

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scale of 1 : 50,000, and some field operations. They are accompanied by letterpress containing explanations and discussions of mooted points. Professor Kromayer has also published a group of studies on Marathon, Allia, and Caudium, under the title *Drei Schlachten aus dem Griechisch-Römischen Altertum* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1921, pp. vi, 80).

G. Colomb in *L'Énigme d'Alésia* (Paris, Colin) rejects the traditional identification with Alise-Sainte-Reine in Auxois for a site in Franche-Comté which has already been contended for by Delacroix, Quicherat, and others.

Dr. T. Rice Holmes's *The Roman Republic and the Founder of the Empire* narrates, in three volumes, the events of the period from the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus to the death of Caesar, the later period being treated with especial fullness.

The University of Texas has published a study entitled *The Founding of the Roman Empire,* by Dr. Frank B. Marsh, adjunct professor of ancient history in that institution. This volume is the first of a projected series of *University of Texas Studies.*

Professor R. V. D. Magoffin of the Johns Hopkins University has in press a volume on *The Three Flavian Caesars.*

The Yale University Press publishes a series of lectures on *After Life in Roman Paganism,* delivered at Yale University by Professor Franz Cumont of Brussels, formerly professor in the University of Ghent, in which the cults, beliefs, and religious practices of pagan Rome relative to life after death are authoritatively and interestingly set forth.

Professor J. B. Bury's *History of the Later Roman Empire, from the Death of Theodosius I. to the Death of Justinian* (London, Macmillan, two vols.), though it bears the same general title as the book published in 1889, is the fruit of so much revision as to be practically a new work.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. Fichtner-Jeremias, *Der Schicksalsglaube bei den Babyloniern* (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft, 1922, 2); F. Graefe, *Studien zur Marinegeschichte des Altertums* (Hermes, LVII. 3); G. H. Box, *Judaism and Hellenism* (Church Quarterly Review, October); B. A. G. Fuller, *The Eleusinian and Orphic Mysteries* (Hibbert Journal, October); P. Cloché, *L'Importance des Pouvoirs de la Boulé Athénienne au V^e^ et IV^e^ Siècles avant J.-C.* (Revue des Études Grecques, July 1921); B. W. Wells, *Taxation and Bureaucracy in the Declining Empire* (Sewanee Review, October); J. W. Mackail, *Ammianus Marcellinus* (Journal of Roman Studies, X. 2); A. Brückner, *Osteuropäische Götternamen; ein Beitrag zur Vergleichenden Mythologie* (Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung, L. 3).

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EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

C. Guignebert continues his consideration of the thesis that the gospel narrative is a tissue of legend, begun in the *Problème de Jésus* (1914), in *La Vie Cachée de Jésus* (Paris, Flammarion, 1921, pp. 211). The present volume studies the first chapters of Matthew and Luke.

The house of John Murray has added, to the two volumes issued some years ago, an English translation, by Rev. Claude Jenkins, librarian to the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace, of vol. III. of the late Monseigneur Duchesne's *Early History of the Christian Church,* relating to the fifth century.

A real and important need is filled by M. Pierre de Labriolle's learned and interesting *Histoire de la Littérature Latine Chrétienne* (Paris, *Les Belles Lettres*). An English translation is projected.

Before the war the Strasbourg Academy of Sciences planned the issue of a new and scientific edition, from the manuscripts, of the acts of the earlier general councils, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum,* to be edited by Professor Eduard Schwartz. One of the two volumes for the council of Constantinople, of A.D. 553, was published in 1914. It is now announced from Berlin, by the Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, that seven of the ten volumes for the councils of Ephesus (431) and of Chalcedon are nearly ready for print.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General review: P. Fedele, *Rassegna delle Pubblicazioni su Bonifazio VIII. e sull' Età sua, degli anni 1914–1921.*

An attempt at a comprehensive survey of *Le Travail dans l'Europe Chrétienne au Moyen-Age* (Paris, Alcan, 1921, pp. 430) is made by P. Boissonnade.

An historical survey of the development of the idea of the sovereignty of the people which has especial value for the Middle Ages and the sixteenth century is *La Sovranità Popolare del Medio Evo alla Rivoluzione Francese* (Turin, Bocca, pp. 220), by E. Crosa.

The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge has published a small book (pp. 94) on *The Albigensian Heresy,* by the Rev. H. J. Warner.

G. Mollat, well known for his thorough and extensive researches on the history of the Avignon papacy, has now published *La Collation des Bénéfices Ecclésiastiques sous les Papes d'Avignon, 1305–1378* (Paris, Boccard, 1921, pp. 353).

The *Defensor Minor* of Marsilius of Padua, now for the first time edited by Mr. C. Kenneth Brampton (Birmingham, Cornish, pp. xviii, 74), is an elaboration of and supplement to his better known *Defensor*

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Pacis, was written in 1342, and is now printed from a unique manuscript in the Bodleian Library.

Dr. De Lacy O'Leary, of the University of Bristol, is about to publish, through Messrs. Kegan Paul, *A Short History of the Fatimid Khalifate*.

Dr. Jacob Mann has completed, by the publication of vol. II. (London, Milford, pp. 430), his account of *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs*, based chiefly on documents discovered some twenty-five years ago in the Genizah of Cairo.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: S. Reinach, *Un Témoignage Indirect et Inaperçu sur le Druidisme* (Revue Archéologique, May); M. Jusselin, *La Chancellerie de Charles le Chauve d'après les Notes Tironiennes* (Le Moyen Age, January, 1922); J. W. Thompson, *Early German-Slav Trade* (Journal of Political Economy, August); Ch. Diehl, *Les Fouilles du Corps d'Occupation Français à Constantinople* (Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, May); Canon Barry, *The Doctor Angelicus* (Dublin Review, October); Lynn Thorndike, *The Latin Pseudo-Aristotle and Medieval Occult Science* (Journal of English and Germanic Philology, April); P. Durrieu, *Le Titre Historique de "Roi de Jérusalem"* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXVI. 2); C. H. Haskins, *Michael Scot and Frederick II.* (Isis, IV. 2); C. Kenneth Brampton, *Marsiglio of Padua*, I. *Life* (English Historical Review, October).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Édouard Rott has published the seventh volume of his monumental *Histoire de la Représentation Diplomatique de la France auprès des Cantons Suisses, de leurs Alliés et de leurs Confédérés* (Paris, Alcan, 1921, pp. 688), of which the eighth is soon to appear. The present volume covers the critical years 1663–1676, when the ambitions of Louis XIV. kept the cantons in a state of nervous fear.

Mr. George Simpson Eddy of New York has reprinted from a copy among the Franklin pamphlets in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania *A Project of Universal and Perpetual Peace*, by Pierre André Gargaz, a former galley-slave, presented by him to Benjamin Franklin and printed by the latter on his private press at Passy in 1782. The document is a curious one, of interest for a sketch of a League of Nations.

The councillor of the French embassy at Rome, F. Charles-Roux, has published *Autour d'une Route; L'Angleterre, l'Isthme de Suez et l'Égypte au XVIII^e Siècle* (Paris, Plon, 1922, pp. 389), a valuable study of the rise of British interest in the route to India via Suez, which Bonaparte's expedition awakened and shaped. The book is both sympathetic and scholarly.

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The Copenhagen publishing firm of Gyldendal, which celebrated in 1920 its 150th anniversary, has begun the publication, in a series of thirty volumes of moderate size, of a general work on the history of the nineteenth century, *Det Nittende Aarhundrede,* under the general editorship of Professor Aage Friis of the University of Copenhagen. The scheme calls for the production, by co-operative effort on the part of some thirty-seven of the best Scandinavian scholars, of comprehensive treatments of the political, social, economic, technical, and intellectual development of the European and other civilized nations throughout the century. Some two-thirds of the volumes, which are well illustrated, have already appeared. Cultural relations are emphasized; thus, there are separate volumes on such topics as the progress of philological research in the century, that of education, of philanthropy, art, literature, music, and the theatre, respectively, the thirtieth volume being one on the main currents in nineteenth-century thought by the celebrated Professor Harald Höffding, to be followed by an index volume.

Two volumes of diplomatic history announced by Longmans, Green, and Company, are a *History of European Diplomacy, 1815–1914,* by E. B. Mowat, fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and *Social and Diplomatic Memories, 1884–1893,* by Sir J. Rennell Rodd, lately British ambassador in Rome, who in the years designated was an attaché or secretary in the British diplomatic service at Berlin, Athens, Rome, and Paris.

Readers interested in the subject of Dr. Joseph V. Fuller's article in a former volume (XXIV. 196–226) on "The War-Scare of 1875" will find new material, prepared from a German point of view, in no. 3 of the *Forschungen und Darstellungen aus dem Reichsarchiv,* namely, "Die Deutsche-Französische Kriegsgefahr von 1875".

The New Constitutions of Europe, by Professors Howard L. McBain and Lindsay Rogers (New York, Doubleday, Page, and Company, pp. 612), consists in the main of texts of constitutions of the states occupying the territories which before the war were Germany, Austria, and Russia, but there are good historical introductions to each and a preliminary portion of 164 pages, in which the whole recent movement of constitutional reorganization, with the exception of that in Ireland, is described and discussed.

La Crise des Alliances (Paris, Grasset, 1922, pp. 427), by A. Fabre-Luce, is not a book of opinion, but an effort at an objective and dispassionate historical account of Franco-British relations, from the signature of the peace with Germany to the Genoa Conference. It is a most carefully documented volume.

The Genoa Conference, by J. Saxon Mills, with a foreword by Mr. Lloyd George, is an historical record of the work of the conference (New York, Dutton).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. H. Tawney, *Religion and Business: a Forgotten Chapter of Social History* [the Reformation] (Hibbert

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Journal, October); Freiherr von Danckelmann, *Der Brandenburgisch-Englische Allianztraktat vom Jahre 1690* (Archiv für Urkundenforschung, VIII. 1); H. de Landosle, *Le Congrès de Bade en Suisse, 1714* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); Raymond Recouly, *The Contrasts between the French and Russian Revolutions* (World's Work, November); Dean W. R. Inge, *The Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh Review, October); A. L. Dunham, *The Origins of the Anglo-French Treaty of 1860* (Nineteenth Century, November); E. C. Corti, *Les Idées de l'Impératrice Eugénie sur le Redressement de la Carte de l'Europe d'après des Rapports du Prince Richard de Metternich* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, September); Count Primoli, *L'Impératrice Eugénie et le Tsar Alexandre II.* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 15); A. Zévaès, *Les Trois Internationales*, I., II. (Nouvelle Revue, September 15, October 1); P. B. Potter, *Origin of the System of Mandates under the League of Nations* (American Political Science Review, November); A. L. P. Dennis, *The Freedom of the Straits* (North American Review, December); Gen. T. H. Bliss, *The Armistices* (American Journal of International Law, October).

THE WORLD WAR

General review: U. Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Deutsche Literatur zur Völkerbundfrage 1918–1921* (Schmoller's Jahrbuch, XLVI. 2).

R. Blachez attempts, in *La Nation Armée et l'Idéologie des Nationalités* (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. 203), an inquiry into the fundamental causes of the World War. He holds the principle of nationality, the rivalries of Pan-Germanism, Pan-Slavism, and British imperialism to be the roots of the conflict.

Volumes of the naval and maritime and aerial history of the war, in the series prepared under the auspices of the British Committee of Imperial Defence, have already appeared and been noticed in this journal. The first of the volumes on land warfare has now appeared, *Military Operations, France and Belgium, 1914* (Macmillan), compiled by Brig.-Gen. J. E. Edmonds. It covers a period of some two and one-half months only, from mobilization up to the transfer of the British army, in October, 1914, from the Aisne back to the left wing. It is not expected however that the same scale of treatment will be continued in subsequent volumes.

The best brief German account of the war is Major Volkmann's *Der Grosse Kreig, 1914–1918* (Berlin, Hobbing, 1922). It is based upon material in the German archives and use has also been made of the best books published in other countries.

E. Massard has written of *Les Espionnes à Paris* (Paris, Michel, 1922, pp. 224), purporting to give the truth concerning Mata-Hari and others of her sort.

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Ludovic H. Grondijs is the author of *La Guerre en Russie et en Sibérie* (Paris, Bossard, 1922, pp. 586), the best account yet available. It is written from an impartial point of view and furnishes documentary evidence in abundance.

Under the direction of the general staff of the French navy, Captain P. Chack is writing a history of *La Guerre des Croiseurs* (Paris, Challamel, 1922, pp. xx, 374). The first volume covers the period from Aug. 4 to Oct. 1, 1914. It is carefully done, and abounds in documentary material.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Recouly, *Les Heures Tragiques d'avant Guerre,* X., *Rome,* II. (Revue de France, September 1); A. Rivaud, *La Propagande Allemande,* II. (Revue des Sciences Politiques, July); G. Hirshfeld, *A propos des Mémoires de Guillaume II.; Les Responsabilités de la Guerre d'après les Archives des Empires Centraux* (Mercure de France, November 1).

GREAT BRITAIN

General review: C. Bémont, *Histoire de Grande Bretagne,* II. (Revue Historique, September).

A continuation committee of the Anglo-American Conference of Professors of History held in London in 1921 has collected information about the procedure necessary for obtaining reproductions of manuscripts of historical interest from the chief archives of Great Britain, and inquiries on this subject may be addressed to the secretary of the Institute of Historical Research, Malet Street, London, W. C. 1. A committee on the editing of documents has made a preliminary report respecting the editing of medieval texts, which after further consideration is intended to be published. It is permissible to repeat the advice heretofore given in these pages, that all American historical students going to London should register at the Institute of Historical Research, as well as at the office of the American University Union, 50 Russell Square.

The Development of the British Empire, by Howard Robinson, is from the press of Houghton Mifflin Company.

The next volume of the *Cambridge Studies in Legal History,* edited by Professor Hazeltine, will be *Interpretations of Legal History,* by Professor Roscoe Pound, of Harvard University, based on lectures delivered at Trinity College, Cambridge, last spring.

A monograph on *Medieval English Nunneries,* by Miss Eileen Power, formerly lecturer in Girton College, just published by the Cambridge University Press, fills a noticeable gap in English social and ecclesiastical history.

The University of Manchester, in *The Place-Names of Lancashire,* by Professor Eilert Ekwall of Lund, has published a work of the utmost

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importance in its field, by one whose knowledge of Scandinavian, Celtic, and Anglo-Saxon languages and history enables him to do justice to both the linguistic and the historical conditions involved in his problem.

The Yale University Press expects soon to issue in its historical series a volume by Mr. W. O. Ault on *Private Jurisdictions in England.*

Dr. Cora L. Scofield, formerly of the University of Chicago, brings out this winter (Longmans) an elaborate work, in two volumes, on *The Life and Reign of Edward IV.*

Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Company have issued *Doctors' Commons and the Old Court of Admiralty; a Short History of the Civilians in England,* by William Senior, of the Middle Temple, barrister-at-law.

An additional source-book, and one of much merit, is *Select Naval Documents* (Cambridge University Press, pp. 224), edited by H. W. Hodges and E. A. Hughes, and running from the time of Henry VIII. to that of Nelson.

The Macmillan Company has brought out a fresh edition of Sir John R. Seeley's *Growth of British Policy,* edited, with a memoir of the author, by the late Sir George Prothero.

Mr. Arthur T. Bolton, curator of the Sir John Soane Museum, after long study has produced an admirable and beautifully illustrated work on *The Architecture of Robert and James Adam, 1758–1794* (London, *Country Life,* two vols., pp. xvi, 344; xii, 361, 92, viii), rich in biographical and social information as well as in description and discussion of houses and decorative work.

The second volume of the *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy,* covering the period from 1815 to 1866, will be issued soon after the date of this journal.

Westminster Abbey: the Church, Convent, Cathedral, and College of St. Peter, Westminster (London, Philip Allan, 2 vols.), is by H. F. Westlake, custodian and minor canon of the abbey, and supplies it at last with an adequate history.

The first volume of the *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies,* established by the University of Wales, contains a list of Lambeth manuscript records relating to Wales under the Commonwealth, a list of manuscripts in the library of St. Asaph's Cathedral, and a list of the parish register transcripts of the diocese of St. Asaph.

The *Scottish Historical Review* for October has articles on the Admiral of Scotland, by A. R. G. McMillan; on the Orkney Pennylands, by J. Storer Clouston; on Henry V. of England in France, by I. N. U. Muir Wilson; and on a Letter to Scotland from the Council of Basel, by Dr. R. K. Hannay.

British government publications: *Index of Chancery Proceedings,* ser. I., James I., vol. I., A–K.

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Other documentary publications: *Year Books of Edward II.*, vol. XVI., 7 Edward II. (Selden Society).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Stewart-Brown, *The "Domesday" Roll of Chester* (English Historical Review, October); Egerton Beck, *The English Austin Canons* (Dublin Review, October); Lynn Thorndike, *Daniel of Morley* (English Historical Review, October); W. S. Holdsworth, *The History of Remedies against the Crown* (Law Quarterly Review, April, July); E. F. Churchill, *The Dispensing Power of the Crown in Ecclesiastical Cases* (*ibid.*, July); A. F. Pollard, *Council, Star Chamber, and Privy Council under the Tudors*, II. *The Star Chamber* (English Historical Review, October); J. J. Duryea, *Notes on Wolsey's Reform* (Dublin Review, October); R. L. Schuyler, *The Rise of Anti-Imperialism in England* (Political Science Quarterly, September); M. Dorothy George, *Some Causes of the Increase of Population in the Eighteenth Century as illustrated by London* (Economic Journal, September); A. L. P. Dennis, *British Foreign Policy and the Dominions* (American Political Science Review, November); A. R. G. McMillan, *The Scottish Court of Admiralty*, II. (Juridical Review, June).

IRELAND AND THE DOMINIONS

(For Canada, see p. 414; for India, p. 398.)

The Oxford University Press is bringing out a history of *Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, by Robert Dunlop.

Miss Constantia Maxwell, lecturer in modern history in Trinity College, Dublin, has prepared for publication, by Messrs. Allen and Unwin of London, a source-book, with historical introduction, entitled *Irish History from Contemporary Sources, 1509–1610.*

The Macmillan Company announces a reissue of the two volumes by the late George L. Beer, on *British Colonial Policy, 1754–1765*, published in 1907, and *The Origins of the British Colonial System, 1578–1660*, published in 1908.

The Prince Consort Prize essay of 1922, *The Colonial Policy of William III. in America and the West Indies*, by G. H. Guttridge, will soon be published by the Cambridge University Press.

Volume V. of the third series of the *Historical Records of Australia* (Sydney, Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, pp. xxi, 959) is mainly occupied with Tasmania, 1825–1827, but also has minor sections devoted to the Northern Territory and to the abortive settlement at Western Port, of the same period.

FRANCE

At the instance of the Société de l'Histoire de la Guerre, the society which established the already celebrated Bibliothèque et Musée de la

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Guerre, the University of Paris has established a special professorship of the history of the World War. Its main purpose will naturally be, at the first, the critical study of the sources. As first incumbent of this new chair, the university has chosen M. Pierre Renouvin, assistant secretary general of the society.

The second volume of J. Mathorez's *Les Étrangers en France sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, Champion, 1921, pp. 446) deals with the German, Dutch, and Scandinavian visitors and immigrants to France. It reveals an unsuspected amount of travel and migration in a period when means of communication were poor. The coming of foreigners was encouraged, and gave France many important figures. The return of students and merchants to their own countries spread French influence and furnished support to French diplomacy. Among the striking facts are the age-long attractiveness of France for the Germans, and the relative ease with which they were assimilated.

A distinguished contribution to the history of French architecture is F. and P. Lesueur's *Le Château de Blois, Notice Historique et Archéologique* (Paris, Longuet, 1914–1921, pp. 313).

The second volume of Gustave Dupont-Ferrier's *Du Collège de Clermont au Lycée Louis-le-Grand* is entitled *Du Prytanée au Lycée Louis-le-Grand* (Paris, Boccard), and deals with the period from the reopening of the college under a changed name to the present time.

The admirable biography of Madame de Maintenon, by Madame Saint-René Taillandier, niece of Taine, has been translated into English by Lady Mary Loyd (London, Heinemann).

A careful monograph on military service at the end of the reign of Louis XIV. is *Racolage et Milice, 1701–1715* (Paris, Plon, 1922, pp. xv, 336), by G. Girard. It deals with the period when the army was being recruited with volunteers and by force for the War of the Spanish Succession. It furnishes the first good account of the militia, established by Louvois in 1688, suppressed in 1697, and re-established in 1701.

La Réglementation du Commerce des Grains en France au XVIII^e Siècle (Paris, Champion, 1922, pp. 266), by C. Musart, throws much light on the history of commerce during the period and also upon the ideas relating to commerce and its control.

Figaro: the Life of Beaumarchais (London, Hutchinson), by John Rivers, is the fruit of thorough and conscientious work, yet very readable.

La Justice Militaire sous la Révolution (Paris, Alcan, 1922, pp. 95) by G. Michon, describes the system of military courts and punishments in vogue under the old régime and the various changes made during the Revolution. The severe and arbitrary discipline of the royal army was gradually reformed until the law of 3 pluviôse an II (Jan. 22, 1794)

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established military courts, procedure, and punishments reasonably in accord with the ideals of the ordinary criminal law and calculated to safeguard the rights of the individual. Under the Thermidorians and the Directory changes of a reactionary sort were adopted. Even at the present day France has not returned to the liberal policy of the Convention during the Terror in the matter of discipline in the army and navy. While that policy was liberal to the enlisted men it held the officers to an unusually rigid accountability. The study of the actual workings of the system under the Terror is interesting but quite insufficient to prove the author's obvious thesis in its behalf.

A valuable publication of the University of Strasbourg, based on the records of the Directory and of the central administration of the Bas-Rhin, is *La Constitution Civile du Clergé et la Crise Religieuse en Alsace, 1790–1795,* by Professor Rodolphe Reuss (tome I., 1790–1792, pp. vi, 378).

It has come to our knowledge that the valuable library of Napoleonic literature and collection of engravings formed by Friedrich M. Kircheisen, of Berlin, is for sale.

Gambetta and the Foundations of the Third Republic, by Harold Stannard, is a study of Gambetta and his place in French history, with a detailed account of his creation of the French army (Boston, Small, Maynard, and Company).

The second volume of A. Houtin's *Le Père Hyacinthe Réformateur Catholique* (Paris, Nourry, pp. 362) deals with the period from 1869 to 1893. It recounts the efforts of Loyson to found in France a reformed Catholic church, his excommunication, and subsequent leadership in the fight against ultramontanism.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Decq, *L'Administration des Eaux et Forêts dans le Domaine Royal en France au XIV^e^ et XV^e^ Siècles* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, January, 1922); G. Weulersse, *Sully et Colbert jugés par les Physiocrates* (Revue d'Histoire Économique et Sociale, X. 2); P. Bertrand, *Les Vrais et les Faux Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu,* I. (Revue Historique, September); M. Dubruel, *La Querelle de la Régale sous Louis XIV.,* I. *Le Premier Heurt, 1673–1676* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); Marquis de Forbin, *La Mission à Rome du Cardinal Forbin-Janson, sous le Pontificat d'Alexandre VIII.,* II. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXVI. 2); A. Choulguine, *L'Organisation Capitaliste de l'Industrie existait-elle en France à la Veille de la Révolution?* (Revue d'Histoire Économique et Sociale, X. 2); E. Campagnac, *Robespierre et la Politique Étrangère,* I., II., III. (Nouvelle Revue, August 1, 15, September 1); C. Leroux-Cesbron, *Un Allemand Propriétaire en France pendant la Révolution* (Revue des Études Historiques, July); J. Depoin, *Napoléon Journaliste* (*ibid.*); G. Lacour-Gayet, *Napoléon à Fontainebleau en 1814* (Revue des

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Études Napoléoniennes, July); M. Levaillant, *Chateaubriand et son Ministre des Finances,* IV. (Revue des Deux Mondes, August 1); E. C. Corti, *Napoléon III. après Sadowa, d'après des Rapports du Prince Richard de Metternich* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, November); Princess Metternich, *Souvenirs: Compiègne, Fontainebleau, 1870* (Revue Universelle, October 15).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

As a result of Professor Eugene H. Byrne's eight months of recent work in Genoese archives, the library of the University of Wisconsin has photographs of some 30,000 documents of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, from those archives.

The *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria,* XLIV. 1–4, begins with an article by Don Gelasio Caetani on Margherita Aldobrandesca (b. 1254) and her connection with his family, the third of her husbands having been Roffredo Caetani. It is a strange tale of Roman aristocratic ways in Dante's time. This scholar has begun, with a genealogical volume, the publication of a series of a dozen quarto volumes of historical materials from the rich archives of his house, that of the dukes of Sermoneta. In the same number of the *Archivio,* G. Castellani continues his studies preparatory to a new edition of the *Fragmenta Romanae Historiae* of Rienzi's time; G. B. Picotti continues his studies of Leo X. by a long article on Giovanni de' Medici in the conclave that in 1492 elected Alexander VI.; and G. Zippel describes Roman materials for the history of the Knights of Rhodes.

Le Carte degli Archivi Reggiani fino al 1050 (Reggio, Lavoranti, 1921, pp. xxiv, 475), published by P. Torelli, in collaboration with Professors A. K. Casotti and F. Tassoni, is a useful addition, from a single locality, to the collection of charters available in Italy.

Signor Romolo Caggese, in *Roberto d'Angiò e i suoi Tempi* (Florence, Bemporad, pp. 690), gives a careful account of the political history of the reign and a still fuller study, based on ample documentary research, of the economic and social conditions of the kingdom of Naples in Robert's time.

The second volume of L. Olschki's *Geschichte der Neusprachlichen Wissenschaftlichen Literatur* is *Bildung und Wissenschaft im Zeitalter der Renaissance in Italien* (Leipzig, Olschki, 1922, pp. x, 344).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Rodocanachi, *Les Courtisanes Italiennes à l'Époque de la Renaissance* (Revue de France, September 15); G. Gallavresi, *La Franc-Maçonnerie et la Formation de l'Unité Italienne* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); P. Matter, *Cavour Publiciste avant 1848* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, July); A. González Palencia, *El Califato Occidental* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, April); David Hannay, *The Mesta* (Edinburgh Review, October).

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Work on the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* goes forward apparently as actively as before the war. The folio series of the *Scriptores* has been brought to an end with vol. XXX. unfinished. Among the issues of the past year we may note *Scriptores,* nova series, tom. I., *Heinrici Surdi de Selbach Chronica,* ed. H. Bresslau; *Leges,* sect. I., tom. V., pars II., *Lex Baiuwariorum; Deutsche Chroniken,* tom. IV., pars II., and *Epistolae,* tom. VI., Hadrian II. Hereafter, while Hahn of Hannover will continue to publish the old *Scriptores;* the *Leges,* and the school editions, the new *Scriptores,* the *Deutsche Chroniken,* the *Diplomata,* and the *Neues Archiv* will be issued by Weidmann of Berlin.

The second volume of Albert von Hofmann's *Politische Geschichte der Deutschen* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1922, pp. 723) has appeared. It is a good handbook.

A good popular account of *Der Heilige Bonifatius, Apostel der Deutschen* (Freiburg, Herder, 1922, pp. xii, 307), which utilizes the researches of Tangl, is by J. J. Laux.

Arnold E. Berger has published the third volume of *Martin Luther in Kulturgeschichtlicher Darstellung* (Berlin, Hofmann, 1921, pp. x, 370), a continuation of the notable work begun in 1895 by F. Gesz, and continued by the present author.

Materials on a very murky period in Bismarck's career have been gathered by O. Gradenwitz in *Akten über Bismarcks Grossdeutsche Rundfahrt* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1922, pp. 57). The volume covers the period of Bismarck's trip to Vienna and to a number of important German cities, in 1892. F. Rachfahl has summarized briefly many of his investigations in *Bismarcks Englische Bündnispolitik* (Freiburg, Fischer, 1922, pp. 27). O. Jöhlinger, in *Bismarck und die Juden* (Berlin, Reimer, 1921, pp. vii, 206), studies an interesting phase of Bismarck's policy.

The memoirs of Kaiser Wilhelm II. have been brought out in this country by Lemcke and Buechner. The title of the volume is *Kaiser Wilhelm der Zweite: Ereignisse und Gestalten aus den Jahren 1878–1918.* The same firm has published the memoirs of the Crown Prince: *Kronprinz Wilhelm: Meine Erinnerungen aus Deutschlands Heldenkampf.* An English translation of the former, *Memoirs of Wilhelm II.,* has been published already by Harper and Brothers; one of the latter, *My War Experiences,* has been published in London by Hurst and Blackett.

J. Haller has published a sharply critical study of Bülow's administration, *Die Aera Bülow* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1922, pp. ix, 152). He concludes that foreign policy was irretrievably mishandled, domestic matters mismanaged, and the foundations of the monarchy shaken.

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The Allgemeine Geschichtsforschende Gesellschaft of Switzerland has consolidated its two publications into one periodical, *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Geschichte,* of which the first volume (Zurich, Leeman, 1922) contains a discussion of the Helvetii by Dr. Felix Stähelin, and a series, contributed by Dr. Alfred Stern, of the correspondence of Frederick William IV. and Napoleon III. in 1856–1857, about the affairs of Neufchâtel, the material being derived from the Prussian archives.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: B. Heusinger, *Servitium Regis in der Deutschen Kaiserzeit; Untersuchungen über die Wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse des Deutschen Königtums, 900–1250* (Archiv für Urkundenforschung, VIII. 1); A. Hauffen, *Das Elsass und Strassburg im 16. Jahrhundert* (Preussische Jahrbücher, July).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The forty-third of the *Verslagen omtrent 's Rijks Oude Archieven,* being the report for 1920 (2 vols., pp. 804, 444), contains, of special interest to Americans, a lively account of an examination of the archives of British Guiana, by Mr. F. Oudschans Dentz of Paramaribo, searching for materials for the history of Dutch Guiana, and an inventory (pp. 617–687) of the archives of Curaçao. The archives of all the Dutch West Indies anterior to 1829 have now been transferred to the Hague. None of those of Curaçao, here catalogued, run back of 1708.

The fifth volume of Dr. Japikse's edition of the *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609,* prepared under the auspices of the National Historical Commission, relates to the crucially important years 1585 and 1586.

A detailed survey of the injuries and losses sustained by the various archives of Flanders during the war, prepared by Louis de Plancke, is to be found in volume LXV. of the *Annales de la Société de l'Émulation de Bruges.*

Les Pèlerinages Expiatoires et Judiciaires dans le Droit Communal de la Belgique au Moyen Age (Louvain, Bureaux du Recueil, 1922, pp. viii, 244), by Dr. E. van Cauwenbergh, librarian of the University of Louvain, is an exhaustive study of the utilization by civil tribunals of pilgrimages to more or less distant shrines as a penalty for crimes or as a portion of the arrangements for establishing peace or terminating feuds. This practice existed especially in Liège, Brabant, and Flanders in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and in some cases the custom came to be embodied in formal law. The origin of the custom in ecclesiastical practice, the crimes, the procedure, and the enforcement of the judgments are each carefully set forth with full citations from the documents. A special chapter is devoted to the sentences to pilgrimage imposed by the court of the rector of the University of Louvain. There is also a list of nearly two hundred shrines to which pilgrimages are re-

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corded to have been ordered by the Belgian courts, and an appendix of illustrative documents.

A highly important and interesting study of the phase of painting which connects the Flemish Renaissance with the Middle Ages is published by Count Paul Durrieu under the title *La Miniature Flamande au Temps de la Cour de Bourgogne, 1415–1530* (Brussels, van Oest, 1921, pp. 83, with heliotype reproductions of 153 miniatures). The same publishers announce, to appear in another handsome quarto, an authoritative study of *La Miniature Française du XIII^e^ au XV^e^ Siècle*, by M. Henry Martin, administrator of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris, with heliotypes of 134 miniatures from manuscripts of the period named.

Professor E. Hubert, upon retiring from the rectorship of the University of Liège, published *L'Édit de Joseph II. sur les Kermesses* (Liège, Poncelet, 1921, pp. 204), a study of one of the well-meant acts of Joseph II. which exasperated the inhabitants of the Austrian possessions in the Low Countries.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, has brought out a volume on the *Economic Development of Denmark before and since the War* (Oxford University Press).

Volume XIV. of *Islandica,* the annual published by Cornell University Library, relating to Iceland and the Fiske Icelandic Collection, is a bibliography of Icelandic books of the seventeenth century (pp. xiii, 121), by Mr. Halldór Hermannsson. That learned scholar has ransacked the libraries of London, Copenhagen, and Reykjavík in order to complete this record and description of some 255 Icelandic books and pamphlets, continuing his description of sixteenth-century books, published in 1916, *Islandica,* IX. In the seventeenth century there was one press in Iceland, managed at Hólar by Bishop Guðbrandur Þorlaksson and his descendants till 1685, and after that at Skálholt; but Mr. Hermannsson includes, besides the issues of this press, all books and pamphlets by Icelanders or of Icelandic origin printed outside of Iceland during the seventeenth century.

Professor Michael Rostovtzeff's elaborate work on *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* has been issued this autumn by the Oxford University Press.

The value and interest of *The Emperor Nicholas II. as I Knew Him* (London, Humphrey), by Maj.-Gen. Sir John Hanbury-Williams, is derived mainly from the fact that the author was chief of the British military mission to Russia in 1914–1917.

Some four hundred letters, in English, of the late tsaritsa, running from April, 1914, to December, 1916, have been published in a volume,

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Pisma Imperatritsi Alexandri Feodorovni k Imperatoru Nicolaiu II., tom. I. (Berlin, "Slovo", 1922). Another volume, published by Ullstein in Berlin, contains, along with further letters, her diary during the last months of her life, April 30–July 3, 1919, the day of her execution.

General Loukomsky was director of mobilization in the Russian army at the beginning of the World War and at a later time chief of staff to Brussilov and Kornilov, and held other important appointments. His *Memoirs of the Russian Revolution* is an important contribution, of which an English translation has lately been published by T. Fisher Unwin.

Lithuania, Past and Present (London, Fisher Unwin), by E. T. Harrison, is the work of one who, familiar with Baltic affairs before the World War, has since then been secretary of the British Commission for the Baltic Provinces and acting British vice-consul for Lithuania. Of its copious information, much is historical.

An important contribution to the history of the Reformation is *Die Einführung der Reformation in Liv-, Est-, und Kurland* (Leipzig, Heinsius, 1921, pp. xix, 851) by Leonid Arbusow, who has taken up the specialty of the late A. Berendts. The volume is the third of the *Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte* of the Verein für Reformationsgeschichte.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: I. Lubimenko, *Les Marchands Anglais en Russie au XVII^e Siècle* (Revue Historique, September); Baron de Méneval, *L'Avènement d'Élisabeth de Russie, 1741* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXVI. 2); E. Bortchak, *Napoléon et l'Ukraine* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, July); M. Dufourmantelle, *La Politique de Germanisation en Pologne Prussienne* (Revue Économique Internationale, September); Junius, pseud., *Die Etappen der Russischen Revolution* (Neue Rundschau, July).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

The Island of Roses and Her Eleven Sisters, or the Dodecanese from the Earliest Time down to the Present Day (London, Macmillan), by Professor Michael D. Volonakis, covers with fairness and good scholarship the varied history of Rhodes and the neighboring islands now held by Italy.

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Under the supervision of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, ten well-equipped expeditions have been at work in various localities. The French Archaeological School has been digging at Jericho, the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society at Tiberias (Hamata), the University of Pennsylvania at Beisān, Harvard at Samaria, the University of Chicago at Megiddo, the Palestine Exploration Fund at Askalon; the

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Franciscans have continued their work of uncovering and preparing for reconstruction the ancient synagogue at Capernaum; the British School has begun explorations at the mouth of the plain of Esdraelon, and the Danes at Shiloh, while the American School of Oriental Research has made interesting excavations at Tell el-Ful (Gibeah), disclosing seven successive periods of building, between 1200 B.C. and 70 A.D.

Gabriel Ferrand has translated from the Arabic the *Voyage du Marchand Arabe Sulaymân en Inde et en Chine* (Paris, Bossard, 1922, pp. 157), written in 851. It is included in the collection of classics of the Orient.

The September issue of the *Journal of Indian History* contains an article on the Rise of the Imams of Sanaa in Arabia, by Dr. A. S. Tritton, professor of Arabic in the Muslim University at Aligarh; a second part of the paper by Sita Ram Kohli on the Army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh; and one of 162 pages, mostly documents, compiled by the editor, Professor Shafaat Ahmad Khan, on the Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations relating to Bombay, 1660–1677.

Dr. Chuan Shih Li, instructor in economics in Futan College, Shanghai, publishes in the Columbia University *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law* (XCIX. 2, pp. 187) a treatise on *Central and Local Finance in China,* being a study, in considerable part historical, of the fiscal relations between the central, the provincial, and the local governments.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: B. Kuske, *Die Weltwirtschaftlichen Anfänge Sibiriens und seiner Nachbargebiete vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert* (Schmoller's Jahrbuch, 1922, 1; 2); A. Martineau, *Dupleix et l'Inde* (Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, X. 3); J. O. P. Bland, *The Washington Conference and the Far East* (Edinburgh Review, October).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

A history of *The Partition and Colonization of Africa,* by Sir Charles Lucas, formerly assistant under-secretary in the Colonial Office, issued lately by the Oxford University Press, has chapters on the late campaigns in that continent and the results of the war to its map.

R. Lambelin's *L'Égypte et l'Angleterre; vers l'Indépendance* (Paris, Grasset, 1922, pp. vi, 259) covers the period from Mehemet Ali to the present. It deals with French relations to the problem of Egyptian nationalism, especially the support of the restoration government, and the French loan to Mehemet Ali of military instructors, engineers, and doctors, and contains a clear account of the rivalries and struggles for predominant influence during the last century.

The History of Mauritius, 1507–1914 (London, *East and West,* pp. xii, 110), by S. B. de Burgh Edwardes, is a clear, well written, and straightforward chronicle, by a young Mauritian.

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Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Richet, *Madagascar au XVII^e Siècle* (Nouvelle Revue, October 15); J. d'Ivray, *La Première Occupation Anglaise en Égypte, 1807* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, September).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

In the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Dr. Stock has finished the manuscript of the first volume of his *Proceedings and Debates of Parliament respecting North America,* covering English, Scottish, and Irish parliaments from 1584 to 1688. The manuscript of the first volume of the *Spanish Documents illustrating the History of New Mexico,* etc., collected for the institution by the late Dr. A. F. Bandelier, and edited for the department by Professor Charles W. Hackett, has been for some time ready for the press. Mrs. Surrey has nearly finished her work in Paris, upon her calendar of documents, and will soon return to New York.

Among recent accessions of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress are: letters of Eliza Parke Custis (Law) to David B. Warden, 1811–1831 (30 typewritten copies from originals); miscellaneous letters of David Porter, 1808–1838 (167 pieces); ten volumes, from the Department of State, of correspondence of the Presidents of the United States and others with the Commissioners of the District of Columbia and others, 1790–1816, including two facsimiles of L'Enfant's plan of the city of Washington, and Andrew Ellicott's original survey of the District, 1793; from the House of Representatives, papers relating to Indiana Territory, 1800–1811 (38 pieces); a group of 41 broadside acts of the New Jersey legislature, 1804–1851; the account-books of Boinod and Gaillard, publishers of the *Courrier de l'Amérique,* 1784–1795, 2 vols.; photostat copies of miscellaneous manuscripts, relating to Ira Allen and the history of Vermont, 1774–1802 (over 5000 pieces, known as the "Wilbur Photostats"); confidential reports of Charles A. Dana to Edwin M. Stanton, 1863–1865 (typewritten and manuscript copies); additions to the Grover Cleveland Papers of 269 letters to E. C. Benedict, A. B. Farquhar, Don M. Dickinson, and William J. Curtis, 1884–1908 ("McElroy-Cleveland Collection"); miscellaneous papers of James Madison, 1795–1842 (18 pieces); letters from William H. Seward to Samuel B. Ruggles, 1837–1859 (21); copies of letters from St. Jean de Crèvecoeur, 1783–1788; 19 miscellaneous legal papers of Alexander Hamilton, 1785–1800; 18 miscellaneous land papers of Robert Morris, 1785–1804; a photostat copy of the proceedings of the New England Corporation, 1656–1686; and a large mass of papers of S. P. Chase.

The Division of Publication of the Department of State has put forth, as a means of answering many inquiries, a pamphlet of 93 pages, entitled *A Short Account of the Department of State of the United States,*

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largely historical in character, setting forth the history of the department's organization, branches, and former and present functions.

Allyn and Bacon have brought out in their series of school histories *A History of the United States,* by the late Charles Kendall Adams and Professor William P. Trent; the Century Company has brought out *Our Republic: a Brief History of the American People,* by S. E. Forman.

A history of the United States in the Slovak language, *Dejiny Spojenych Státóv Amerických,* by Jozef Hill, has been brought out in Pittsburgh by the History Publishing Company.

Putnam has published *The Law of the American Constitution: its Origin and Development,* by Charles K. Burdick, with two introductory chapters by Francis M. Burdick.

Selig Perlman is the author of *A History of Trade Unionism in the United States,* which Macmillan has published in the series of *Social Science Text-Books.*

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, XXXI. 2, at its meeting of October, 1921, contains a paper of much value by Mr. Charles Evans on Oaths of Allegiance in Colonial New England; a full history of the Island of Monhegan, by C. F. Janney; and a paper by J. B. Wilbur on the Making of the Republic of Vermont.

It is very rarely that an historical journal needs to take notice of a bookseller's catalogue, but certainly an exception must be made of catalogue no. 429 of Maggs Brothers of London, a stout volume of 600 pages in which nearly 1700 items of Americana are described, including an extraordinary number of historical rarities, many of which are unique or extremely rare, or of much historical interest, as the full descriptions show. Among the manuscripts we note a large collection of the correspondence of Juan Ruiz Apodaca, viceroy of Mexico 1816–1821, and a letter-book of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe of Upper Canada, 1792–1793.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

In no. 1 of the *Leyden Pilgrim Messenger* (Leyden, Brill), Dr. D. Plooij prints a lecture on recently discovered letters of the Pilgrim colony in New England, giving the text of one of Governor William Bradford, 1649, one of Rev. Ralph Smith, 1633, and one of Governor Thomas Prince, 1634; also one of Rev. Hugh Peter, from Salem, 1639. Professor A. Eekhof discusses Brewster's print of the Dutch translation of Dod and Cleaver's *Exposition of the Ten Commandments.*

In the *Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises,* X. 3, M. Émile Lauvrière continues, from 1632 to 1650, his careful studies of Acadian history (Razilly and Aulnay).

The late Professor H. L. Osgood, as was observed in the *Review* some time ago, left almost complete four volumes on *The American*

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Colonies in the Eighteenth Century. The manuscript has been put into shape for the printer and is about to be published by the Columbia University Press. The entire work will appear during the present academic year. Professor D. R. Fox has written a biography of Professor Osgood which will be published at the same time though in a separate volume.

Many readers and school-teachers will be glad to know that the Macmillan Company has reissued the late Mrs. Alice Morse Earle's attractive volumes of social history of the colonial period, *Child Life in Colonial Days, Home Life in Colonial Days, Stage-coach and Tavern Days, Curious Punishments of Bygone Days, Old-Time Gardens,* and *Sun-dials and Roses of Yesterday.*

The American Geographical Society has reprinted, handsomely, in a small volume of 20 pages, *A Short Account of the First Settlements of the Provinces of Virginia, Maryland, New-York, New-Jersey, and Pensylvania, by the English* (London, 1735), with a map by John Senex, text and map sustaining the Penn claim to possession from 39 degrees north.

The Caxton Club of Chicago is about to republish the English edition (London, 1761) of Charlevoix's *Journal of a Voyage to North America,* to be edited by Miss Louise P. Kellogg.

Professor Samuel E. Morison is putting into print (Oxford, Clarendon Press) a book of *Sources and Documents on the American Revolution, 1760–1789,* uniform with Stubbs's *Select Charters.*

The Princeton Battle Monument (Princeton University Press, 1922. pp. 131) includes a history of the monument, by Allan Marquand; an account of the dedication, by Christian Gauss; a Ballad of Princeton Battle, by Henry Van Dyke; and a history of the battle, effectively written by Thomas J. Wertenbaker (all four, professors in Princeton University). It was at Princeton that Congress in 1783 authorized the erection of an equestrian statue of Washington commemorating the chief events of the war, including the battle of Princeton, but it was not until 1887 that steps were taken to erect a monument there, and it was not until June, 1922, that the monument was completed and dedicated. The Philadelphia City Cavalry Troop and the Fifth Maryland, the only military units which took part in the battle of Princeton and still survive as organizations, participated in the exercises of dedication.

Dr. F. Lee Benns's monograph, *The American Struggle for the British West India Carrying-Trade,* which was awarded the Justin Winsor Prize for 1920, will be published during the present year as a volume in the *Indiana University Studies.*

The University of Michigan expects soon to issue, as one of its historical publications, Senator William Plumer's *Memorandum of Proceedings in the United States Senate, 1803–1807*—new material of much value and interest, edited by Professor Everett S. Brown.

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The Michigan Society of Colonial Wars has brought out the *Journal of Joseph Valpey, jr., of Salem, November, 1813–April, 1815: with other Papers relating to his Experience in Dartmoor Prison.* The journal was prepared for publication by the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, and an introduction is furnished by a relative of the diarist. The journal presents first the experiences of a voyage from Boston to Charleston, South Carolina, then a crisp narrative of adventure, February–August, 1814, on the privateer schooner *Herald,* then a record of imprisonment at Halifax, whence the writer was transferred to Dartmoor prison in England. About half the journal is devoted to a description of the prison and to an account of his daily life there, until his release near the end of April, 1815. A description of the prison and of the "British Massacre on the sixth of April A. D. 1815", by another prisoner, found at the close of the Valpey journal, is added; also, some letters, and verses such as prisoners write.

Essentials of Church History: a History of the Church [meaning, of the Mormon Church] *from the Birth of Joseph Smith to the Present Time,* by Joseph F. Smith, comes from the Deseret News Press, Salt Lake City.

An address on *The Life and Public Services of General Zachary Taylor,* delivered by Abraham Lincoln in Chicago, July 25, 1850, and printed in the Chicago *Journal* of July 27, has recently been discovered by Edward W. Baker of Barry, Illinois, and has been issued in a neat volume by the Riverside Press.

Jesse W. Weik, who collaborated with Herndon in writing a life of Lincoln, has brought out a volume to which he has given the title *The Real Lincoln: a Portrait,* the purpose of which is to treat more adequately than was done in the former work the human side of Lincoln, enlarging in particular upon Lincoln's domestic life and his activities as a lawyer (Houghton Mifflin Company).

Jefferson Davis: his Life and Personality, by Morris Schaff, is characterized as "the indisputable historical record of Mr. Davis as a soldier, statesman, and American gentleman, written by an officer of the northern armies" (Boston, John W. Luce and Company).

Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Company announce a new military history of *The Civil War in America,* by Walter G. Shotwell.

In the January and April numbers of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* will be published, in two long installments, a carefully studied paper on the *Virginia* (*Merrimac*)-*Monitor* fight by an eye-witness, who was at the time a soldier in the United States army.

Imperial Washington: the Story of American Public Life, from 1870 to 1920, is from the pen of Richard F. Pettigrew, former United States senator from South Dakota (Chicago, Charles H. Kerr and Company).

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From Harrison to Harding: a Personal Narrative, covering a Third of a Century, 1888–1921, is by a veteran Washington newspaper man, Arthur W. Dunn (New York, Putnam).

Dr. James Ford Rhodes continues his celebrated book by the publication of a volume entitled *The McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations, 1897–1909* (Macmillan, pp. x, 418).

Messrs. Dutton have brought out a *Life of Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore,* in two volumes, by Allen S. Will.

The Institute for Government Research has issued, as the third of its *Service Monographs of the United States Government, The Bureau of Mines: its History, Activities, and Organization,* by Fred W. Powell (New York, Appleton).

A *History of the First Division during the World War, 1917–1919,* compiled by the Society of the First Division, is brought out in Philadelphia by Winston.

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The New England History Teachers Association held its annual fall meeting at Simmons College on November 4. The general subject of the papers was that of Recent Developments in Eastern Europe. Professors A. I. Andrews, R. H. Lord, and Jerome Davis discoursed on the Southeastern Countries, Poland and the Baltic States, and Russia, respectively.

Charles E. Goodspeed of Boston has published a volume containing a comprehensive and well-illustrated survey of New England shipping, nautical instruments, and navigation, entitled *The Sailing Ships of New England, 1607–1907* (pp. 476), by John Robinson, curator of the Marine Room of the Peabody Institute in Salem, and George F. Dow, curator of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

A work in three volumes, bearing the title *History of the Pilgrims and Puritans, their Ancestry and Descendants: Basis of Americanization,* of which Joseph D. Sawyer is the author and Dr. William E. Griffis is the editor, has been brought out in New York by the Century History Company.

The October number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* contains an article by Rufus S. Tucker on the Expansion of New England.

Horse Raising in Colonial New England (Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station *Memoir* 54), by Deane Phillips, is an excellent study of a phase of the economic history of colonial New England which has hitherto received but scant attention. An interesting fact brought out by the author is the intimate connection between horse-raising in New England and the sugar industry in the British West Indies.

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The New Hampshire Society of the Colonial Dames of America, through its Committee of Historic Research, offers a prize of $100 for the best monograph on a subject taken from the history of New Hampshire, prior to 1775. The competitor must be a resident of New Hampshire, or a student of either Dartmouth, the New Hampshire State College, or St. Anselm's College. Inquiries respecting the matter should be addressed to Miss Agnes Hunt, 263 North Bay Street, Manchester, N. H.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has brought out, as vol. LXXV. of its *Collections,* a check-list of *Broadsides, Ballads, etc., printed in Massachusetts 1639–1800,* edited by Dr. Worthington C. Ford, who with wonderful industry and success has found in twenty-five libraries, American and European, more than 3000 of these fugitive pieces, illustrating the history of government, politics, business, crimes, executions, verse, and typography in Massachusetts. There are many facsimiles, a learned introduction, and a good index.

Francis B. C. Bradlee contributes to the October number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* the first installment of a study of the Suppression of Piracy in the West Indies, 1820–1832. A list of Essex County Vessels captured by Foreign Powers, 1793–1813 (to be continued) is a compilation from the *American State Papers.* There are also tributes to Robert S. Rantoul, by Charles W. Eliot and Alden P. White, and a letter from William Vans to Samuel Curwen, Loyalist, dated at Salem, Jan. 2, 1784.

Mr. Sidney Perley, of Salem, will publish, when a sufficient number of subscriptions have been received, the first volume of *A History of Salem, Massachusetts,* covering exhaustively and from original sources the history of the village from its founding by Roger Conant in 1626 to 1638. Biographical and genealogical material, a map, and many illustrations are to be included in this authoritative work.

A *History of Chelmsford, Massachusetts,* by Rev. Wilson Waters, is brought out in Chelmsford, by the author.

Smith College Studies in History, vol. VII., no. 4, is *Recollections of James Russell Trumbull* (1825–1899), scion of the Connecticut family of the name, printer, editor, and, in his later years, historian of Northampton, Massachusetts. The *Recollections* are edited by a niece, Anna E. Miller.

Among the recent accessions of manuscripts to the Rhode Island Historical Society are: a collection of papers relating to Tiverton and Little Compton, the gift of Mr. Samuel Utley of Worcester, Massachusetts; and a muster-roll of several companies of Rhode Island militia in the War of 1812. The society's *Collections,* vol. XV., no. 4 (October), contains an illustrated account of Early Rhode Island Seals, and a continuation of the paper by Harry L. Barnes on the Wallum Pond Estates.

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The Connecticut State Library has received from Miss Mary A. Birge, of East Windsor Hill, six volumes of the daily diary kept by her ancestor, Asa Bowe of that place, from 1806 to 1848, a full record of personal and community activities.

The Connecticut Historical Society has recently received as a gift from Mr. George E. Hoadley, one of its members, a valuable collection of colonial, Continental, and state bills comprising about 1300 specimens, representing all of the Old Thirteen, a collection of more than two hundred bills and bonds issued by the Confederate states, more than a hundred miscellaneous bills issued by various states and corporations, a number of early printed broadsides relating to money, prices, and financial matters in Revolutionary times, and letters and documents concerning the issue and redemption of bills and financial matters in general.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The Manuscripts and History Section of the New York State Library has acquired an important collection of papers and maps relating to the colonial and Revolutionary history of Schenectady and the Mohawk Valley; some 2000 abstracts of Revolutionary pension records, presented by Mr. Floyd G. Greene of Rochester; and a collection of some 5000 papers, mainly the papers of the Hon. Abraham Van Vechten (1762–1837), prominent in public office and in the legal profession. This last collection was brought together by Abraham Van Wyck Van Vechten, and has been presented by his daughters, Mrs. Knox and Mrs. Huntington.

In 1652 Director General Stuyvesant took the village of Beverwyck, now Albany, out of the jurisdiction of the colony of Rensselaerswyck and erected the court of Fort Orange and Beverwyck, an inferior bench of judicature with appeal to the director general and council of New Netherland, and with jurisdiction extending from Kingston and Esopus upward. Its records, till the erection of the mayor's court of Albany in 1686, have almost all been preserved, and the state's Division of Archives and History has now published the first volume of a translation from Dutch into English, by the highly competent hands of Mr. A. J. F. van Laer, state archivist, *Minutes of the Court of Fort Orange and Beverwyck, 1652–1656* (pp. 326)—a full record of the village life.

The October number of the *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* contains a biographical account of Samuel Loudon (1727–1813), merchant, printer, and patriot, with some of his letters. There is also a third installment of the catalogue of American Revolutionary diaries, etc., by Dr. William S. Thomas.

In the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library, the list of references on Provençal literature, language, and history continues through October, November, and December. In the October number is found also

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a list of the plans of the siege of Yorktown in possession of the library, together with a particular description of the Renault map, a copy of which was recently given to the library by Mrs. Charles S. Fairchild, of Cazenovia.

In the October number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* is found the Articles of Agreement between the Owner and the Ship's Company of the Privateer Ships *General Washington* and *Belisarius,* contributed by Henry R. Drowne.

Hamilton College celebrated its centennial anniversary in 1912. A volume now published by the college, *Documentary History of Hamilton College* (pp. 292), contains much correspondence of Samuel Kirkland, the founder, charters and other documents of Hamilton Oneida Academy (founded 1793), proceedings of the regents of the University of the State of New York, the college charter of 1812, early proceedings of the trustees and college laws of 1813, and similar documents, preceded by Mr. Elihu Root's centenary address.

The October number of the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society contains an appreciation, by Rev. W. H. S. Demarest, of the late Dr. Austin Scott; an article by Edith H. Mather on George Scot of Pitlochy; one by Elias Vosseller on James W. Marshall, the New Jersey Discoverer of Gold; one by E. Alfred Jones on English Convicts in the American Army in the War of Independence; and one by J. F. Folsom on Witches in New Jersey. There is also a letter from John Cleves Symmes to Elias Boudinot, dated at Lexington, May 1, 1790. A Young Man's Journal of 1800–1813 is continued.

The Vineland Historical Magazine prints in the October number a brief journal of Henry W. Cansdell, M.D., chiefly pertaining to hospital work at Camp Utley, Wisconsin, January to March, 1862. The European Journal of Charles K. Landis (1874) is continued.

The July number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* contains an address by George P. Donehoo, state librarian, on the Indians of the Past and of the Present; a paper by Hon. Charles I. Landis on Jasper Yeates and his Times; and one by George C. Gillespie on Early Fire Protection and the Use of Fire Marks. The October number includes a paper by A. T. Volwiler on George Croghan and the Westward Movement, 1741–1782, and the "Account of the Journey of Br. and Sr. Ludwig v. Schweinitz from Herrnhut to Bethlehem in Pennsylvania", translated from the Moravian church archives by Miss Adelaide L. Fries. The history of the Second Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry is continued.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has published another volume of its *Index to Economic Material in the Documents of the States, viz.,* Pennsylvania, part III., by Miss Adelaide R. Hasse, completing the entries for that state.

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The *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia,* autumn number, 1922, contains the conclusion of Professor Harry E. Barnes's article on the Criminal Codes and Penal Institutions of Colonial Pennsylvania.

The *Papers Read* before the Lancaster County Historical Society Mar. 3, 1922, includes, as its principal content, a History of Lancaster County's Highway System from 1714 to 1760 (with map), by H. Frank Eshleman.

Among the articles in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* are: the Colonists of William Penn, by Marcia B. Bready; Education in Western Pennsylvania, 1850–1860, by Florence E. Ward; Earlier Lawrenceville, by Rev. Edward M. McKeever; and General John Gibson, by John B. Gibson. With the close of the year 1922 Charles W. Dahlinger withdrew as editor of the magazine, and was succeeded by Professor Alfred P. James of the University of Pittsburgh.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

Vol. XLII. of the *Maryland Archives,* which is expected to appear in 1923, will contain the proceedings and acts of the general assembly from 1740 to 1745; vol. XLIII., which is planned to appear in 1924, is expected to contain the Journal and Correspondence of the State Council, October 27, 1779–November 10, 1780, being the fifth volume of that series.

In the September number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* appears the first installment of the Diary of Robert Gilmor, the eminent merchant of Baltimore (d. 1848). The diary, which begins on Christmas day, 1826, is chiefly a record of daily associations, written in an attractive style, and interesting for its intimate glimpses of personalities. The present installment closes at the middle of March, 1827, when the author is in Charleston. There are numerous annotations by author and editor. Dr. Bernard C. Steiner's biography of James A. Pearce is continued.

As a result of an appropriation of $5000 by the last general assembly, the Virginian archives (Virginia State Library) have secured somewhat more than 30,000 photostat copies of Confederate muster-rolls which were removed during the evacuation of Richmond in 1865.

Mr. Fairfax Harrison contributes to the October number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* a paper on Western Explorations in Virginia between Lederer and Spotswood (latter seventeenth century); and Mr. E. Alfred Jones contributes, with introduction and notes, a letter regarding the Queen's Rangers, from Alexander Innes, inspector-general of the provincial forces, to Sir Henry Clinton, dated Nov. 9, 1779. Among the other contents of this number are a body of minutes of the council and general court, 1622–1629, and con-

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tinuations of the series, Virginia Quit Rent Rolls, 1704, and Virginia State Troops in the Revolution.

The contents of the October number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* include the second chapter of the autobiography of Robert R. Howison, which carries the title Fredericksburg, her People and Characters; some addresses, etc., of the Democratic Societies of 1793 and 1794 in Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and Virginia; and a second installment of the Letters of Robert Pleasants, Merchant at Curles, 1772.

Among the contents of the October number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* are: the Journal of Captain Henry Massie (kept between Fredericksburg and Boston, April–June, 1808); some documents pertaining to the Loyal Company, a land company organized in 1749 by Dr. Thomas Walker, John Lewis, and others; some letters of James Monroe, 1809–1812, principally to Dr. Charles Everett of Charlottesville; a letter of Patrick Henry, May 27, 1777, relative to the deportation of royalists; a sketch of Colonial Orange, 1734–1776, by Bessie Grinnan; and sketches of some professors at William and Mary College.

Dr. Philip A. Bruce, Dr. Lyon G. Tyler, and Mr. A. J. Morrison have undertaken to prepare a history of Virginia in three volumes, of which the first, 1607–1763, will be written by Dr. Bruce, general editor of the series, the second, extending to 1861, by Dr. Tyler, and the third by Mr. Morrison. The work, which will contain biographies as well as history, will be published by the Lewis Company of Chicago.

The Planters of Colonial Virginia, by Thomas J. Wertenbaker, is a study of the underlying economic factors in the history of Virginia (Princeton Press).

The latest publication of the North Carolina Historical Commission is a volume of *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina,* edited by Miss Adelaide L. Fries. The commission has secured in the past two years five hundred volumes of county records from the older counties of the state. They consist of wills, deeds, inventories, tax lists, and marriage bonds. Mr. R. D. W. Connor has made a systematic search for North Carolina material in the British Public Records Office and the British Museum, and the commission has made provisions for systematic copying of this material.

Mr. Earl G. Swem, librarian of William and Mary College, has edited for *Heartman's Historical Series* (no. 37) *An Account of the Cape Fear Country, 1731,* by Hugh Meredith (Perth Amboy, N. J., Charles F. Heartman), and, for the same series (no. 38), the *Description of the Dismal Swamp and a Proposal to Drain the Swamp,* written by Col. William Byrd of Westover. The idea of draining the swamp was revived in 1763, and Washington took much interest in the project.

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The *Proceedings* of the twentieth and twenty-first annual sessions (1920, 1921) of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina appears as bulletin no. 28 of the *Publications* of the North Carolina Historical Commission. Papers of an historical character read at the session of 1920 were: Vitality in State History, by J. G. deR. Hamilton; What the World wants of the United States, by Professor John S. Bassett of Smith College; Patriotism, by Professor John Erskine of Columbia University; William Richardson Davie and Federalism, by H. M. Wagstaff; and an Eighteenth Century Circuit Rider (Judge James Iredell), by Frank Nash. At the session of 1921 were these: Confederate Ordnance Department, by D. H. Hill; the Historian and the Daily Press, by Gerald W. Johnson; an Old Time North Carolina Election, by Louise Irby; and the Bread and Butter Aspect of North Carolina History, by D. D. Carroll. The bulletin also contains, in connection with each session, a North Carolina Bibliography, covering the period from November, 1919, to November, 1921.

The September number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* contains a paper by Judge Andrew Cobb, president of the Georgia Historical Society, entitled the Right to Live: will the State protect it, or must we rely upon Federal Authority?; one by Hon. Pleasant A. Stovall, former minister to Switzerland, on the Neutrality of Switzerland; and a discussion, by Professor J. D. Wade, of the Authorship of David Crockett's *Autobiography*. Dr. Roland M. Harper continues his studies of agriculture in Georgia, devoting the present paper to the Development of Agriculture in Upper Georgia from 1890 to 1920. The Howell Cobb Papers in this number extend from June, 1857, to December, 1860.

St. Andrews, Florida: Historical Notes upon St. Andrews and St. Andrews Bay, by George M. West, is published in St. Andrews by the Panama Publishing Co. The volume includes maps and an appendix containing the official record of the vessels employed in the blockading fleet of St. Andrews Bay.

In the April (1921) number of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* are found two discourses on the life and character of George Mathews, president of the supreme court of Louisiana, the one a panegyric by Étienne Mazureau, attorney general, delivered in January, 1837, translated from the French by Mrs. H. H. Cruzat, the other a discourse by Hon. Charles Watts, presumably delivered about the same time. There are also documentary contributions from the Cabildo archives, edited by Henry P. Dart, including the oath of allegiance to Spain (1769), and records of the superior council of Louisiana, 1727–1728.

WESTERN STATES

A new edition of the *List of References on the History of the West* (pp. 156), by Professor Frederick J. Turner and Frederick Merk, is brought out by the Harvard University Press.

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The September number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* has papers on the Religious Conceptions of the Modern Hurons, by William E. Connelley of the Kansas State Historical Society, and on the Federal Operation of Southern Railroads during the Civil War, by R. E. Riegel of the University of Wisconsin; also, an interesting letter of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, St. Louis, March 7, 1861, and an account of Gustaf Unonius's Swedish reminiscences of Northwest America (Upsala, 1861–1862).

The firm of Putnam has brought out *Mississippi Valley Beginnings: an Outline of the Early History of the Earlier West,* by Henry E. Chambers.

The Ohio Valley Historical Association held its fifteenth annual meeting at Columbus, in the building of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, on November 24 and 25. The president's address, by Professor Clarence E. Carter, was on the State and Historical Work. Professor Dodd of Chicago gave addresses on Lee and the Confederacy, and on the New Foreign Policy of the United States, and there were papers on Circuit-Rider Days in Ohio, 1812–1826, by Professor W. W. Sweet of DePauw University, and on the Downfall of the Whig Party in Kentucky, by Professor E. M. Coulter of the University of Georgia. The Ohio History Teachers Association met at the same time and place.

The *Transactions* (1922) of the Western Reserve Historical Society record many valuable acquisitions during the year, particularly of items, both printed and manuscript, pertaining to the Civil War, and of early newspapers. Among the former may be mentioned the minute books of the executive committee of the Western Anti-Slavery Society, 1857–1864, and some early records of religious bodies, Congregational, Presbyterian, Baptist; among the latter are extensive files of Ohio newspapers.

In the July number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* Mr. C. B. Galbreath records at length the celebrations of the centennial anniversary of the birth of General Grant. Other contents are: an account, by Dr. Frank Warner, of Catherine Gougar, the Indian captive, and a paper by Professor Willis A. Chamberlin on Ohio and Western Expansion.

The July–September number of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* contains the fifth of the selections from the Gano Papers, which are of October and November, 1813.

The Rev. Wilson Waters of Chelmsford, Massachusetts, is the author and publisher of *The History of St. Luke's Church, Marietta, Ohio.*

In the September number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* are: a brief account, by John C. Chaney, of Ascension Seminary and Captain William T. Crawford; an article by J. F. Connell on Indiana Primary Laws; one by B. F. Stuart on the Deportation of the Pottawattomie

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Indians; and continuations of Carl Brand's studies of the Knownothing Party in Indiana and H. H. Pleasant's history of Crawford County.

Public Men of Indiana: a Political History from 1860 to 1890, by Francis Trissal, has been brought out in Hammond, Indiana, by the W. B. Conkey Company.

The chief articles in the July number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* are one by Rev. J. B. Culemans on Missionary Adventures among the Peorias, one by William A. Mese on the Virginian Colonel John Montgomery, and one by William S. Merrill on Father Allouez. The discussion on mooted points in Illinois history begun in the April number is continued by Dr. Milo M. Quaife, in contributions, models of urbane controversial style, on Chicago origins, while in the October number E. J. Fortier discourses of the establishment of the Tamarois Mission.

Mr. Otto A. Rothert, secretary of the Filson Club, has prepared with affectionate care, and published as no. 30 of its publications, an elaborate volume on the Louisville poet Madison Cawein, *The Story of a Poet: Madison Cawein* (Louisville, John P. Morton and Company, pp. xi, 545, with sixty illustrations). His biography is carefully worked out from recollections and newspaper material, and is supplemented by a "posthumous autobiography" made up from the poet's letters. Estimates and tributes from contemporaries, and an elaborate bibliography, complete a very worthy memorial.

The contents of the *Michigan History Magazine,* vol. VI., nos. 2–3 (double number), include: Rix Robinson, Fur Trader, by Mrs. Mary F. Robinson; Peter White, by James Russell; Assinins and Zeba, the two oldest permanent settlements on Keweenaw Bay, by Francis Jacker; Ho! Gogebic County! by Charles R. Cobb; Benton Harbor College and its President, Dr. George J. Edgcumbe, by Mrs. Victoria C. Edgcumbe; Historical Work in Michigan, by Alvah L. Sawyer; and Dutch Journalism in Michigan, by Henry Beets.

The Michigan Historical Commission has issued as *Bulletin,* no. 15, the *Prize Essays* written by pupils of the Michigan schools in the local history contest.

Recent accessions of original material to the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, include a log-book of the British armed sloop *Welcome,* a vessel used on the lakes in 1779–1781; papers of several old Detroit families; the Eber Brock Ward papers, of interest in connection with the development of navigation on the Great Lakes; those of Marshall Wright Chapin, relating to the Civil War; and those of Hon. Thomas W. Palmer, of business and political interest, and relating to the Chicago Exposition of 1893.

The Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, has brought out in attractive form a volume of which the title-page reads: *Corpora-*

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tion of the Town of Detroit: Act of Incorporation and Journal of the Board of Trustees, 1802–1805, and which has an introduction by C. M. Burton. The charter of incorporation, granted by the assembly of the Northwest Territory, Jan. 18, 1802, provided for the government of the town by a board of five trustees, together with a secretary, an assessor, a collector, and a marshal; this journal is the record of the town's government until the organization of the Territory of Michigan. The records of fines for violations of fire regulations stand out prominently. The *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet,* vol. I., no. 6 (September), includes some letters (1820, 1822), etc., relating to the Black Swamp Road; no. 7, material on the plank roads of Michigan.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has recently acquired the large and varied collection of papers accumulated in the course of a long and active public career by the late Bishop Samuel Fallows of Chicago. The society distributed to its members in December an edition of the introductory volume in the *Wisconsin Domesday Book* series. It is *A History of Agriculture in Wisconsin,* by Dr. Joseph Schafer, the society's superintendent.

In the September number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* Gen. Charles King continues his Memories of a Busy Life, devoting this installment to the war with Spain. Three articles, by D. J. Gardner, Truman O. Douglass, and Maria G. Douglass, respectively, are concerned with early days in Platteville and the Wisconsin lead mines. In the section of documents appears the first installment of the Diary of a Journey to Wisconsin in 1840 (kept by Frederick J. Starin); also a letter of Senator James R. Doolittle to Charles A. Dana, written from Chicago, Apr. 16, 1880. The editor makes some appropriate comments on Historical "Firsts", "Exclusives", and "Incomparables".

The Minnesota Historical Society has acquired the correspondence and papers of the late George A. Brackett, presented by his son, Chapin R. Brackett. Probably the greatest value of the papers lies in the material they contain for the history of Minneapolis from 1857 to 1920. Another acquisition of value is the records, manuscripts, etc., accumulated by Rev. George C. Tanner of Minneapolis as registrar of the Episcopal diocese of Minnesota. This material, which is described as covering the period from the 1840's to the second decade of the present century, has been turned over to the society in accordance with a resolution of the diocesan council several years ago. One of the noteworthy items is the diary (seven volumes, 1859–1870) of Rev. Henry B. Whipple, and his reminiscences. The society has also acquired the diary of Col. Elmer E. Ellsworth (Apr. 11 to Aug. 25, 1859).

Professor William P. Shortridge of the University of Louisville is the author of a monograph entitled *The Transition of a Typical Frontier: with Illustrations from the Life of Henry Hastings Sibley,* "Fur

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Trader, First Delegate in Congress from Minnesota Territory, and First Governor of the State of Minnesota" (Menasha, Wis., George Banta Publishing Company, pp. vii, 186). The work is largely a biography of Sibley, with a Minnesota frontier setting. The first chapter shows the Sibleys as a type of the New England element in the West. It is followed by a chapter on the fur trader's frontier, one on the pioneer days on the upper Mississippi, and these by a succession of studies in territorial problems and conditions. There is also a chapter on the Indian problem of the frontier, and one on the last stand of the Sioux Indians in Minnesota. The concluding chapter bears the title Pioneer Dreams Come True, suggested, evidently, by Sibley's retrospect in 1884 upon the marvellous transformation of the frontier since his first advent upon it half a century before.

The January (1922) number of the *Annals of Iowa* includes a continuation of David C. Mott's contribution, the Lewis and Clark Expedition in its Relation to Iowa History and Geography, and a biographical account of Calvin W. Keyes, Iowa centenarian, by Dr. Charles Keyes.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has brought out a *History of Banking in Iowa,* by Howard H. Preston.

In the September number of the *Palimpsest* Bruce E. Mahan gives some account of the Trappists in Europe, the transplantation of a group of them to Iowa, and their life there.

The contents of the October number of the *Missouri Historical Review* include a paper by Walter B. Stevens on Alexander McNair; one by B. F. Blanton entitled a True Story of the Border War; the fifth of Wiley Britton's articles on Pioneer Life in Southwest Missouri; and other continuations.

The October number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* contains the first installment of a remarkable History of a Texas Slave Plantation, by Abigail Curlee; the second part of Anna Muckleroy's study of the Indian Policy of the Republic of Texas; and the fifth installment of the Bryan-Hayes Correspondence, edited by E. W. Winkler.

During the biennium 1920–1922 the archive division of the Texas State Library has received by transfer from the department of the secretary of state of Texas some 33 volumes of executive records and correspondence, of which 17 volumes are of the period of the Republic (1836–1845) and 16 of the period 1846–1875; a body of unbound executive correspondence of the period 1846–1873, consisting chiefly of letters to the governors, and numbering between 23,000 and 24,000 manuscripts; and a variety of other records and papers, such as papers relating to military affairs (1846, 1861–1867), reconstruction (1867–1870), Indian outrages (1846–1880), resignations of judicial officers (1839–1874), reports of the secretary of state (1851–1871), treasurer's reports (1850–

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1872), etc. Among these are the Spanish decrees of Coahuila and Texas, 1827–1835 (printed). The library has also received the manuscript history of the 13th Tennessee regiment in the Civil War, by Rev. James West, presented by Miss Elizabeth H. West, state librarian.

The October number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* contains an article by C. J. Smith on Early Development of Railroads in the Pacific Northwest; a continuation of Professor Edmond S. Meany's account of Newspapers of Washington Territory, as also of his papers on the Origin of Washington Geographic Names; and Van Ogle's Memory of Pioneer Days, with an introduction by Professor Meany.

Articles in the September number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* are: the Oregon Question, 1818–1828, by Verne Blue; and Education in the Oregon Constitutional Convention of 1857, by Ira W. Lewis. The principal documentary contribution is the Mission Record Book of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Willamette Station, Oregon Territory, commenced 1834, to which Charles H. Carey furnishes an introduction. There is also a letter from John Ordway of the Lewis and Clark Expedition to his parents, dated at Camp River Dubois, Apr. 8, 1804.

CANADA

Of the *Report of the Public Archives* of Canada for 1921 (pp. 425) one-half consists of the text of proclamations of the governors of Lower Canada from 1792 to 1815, continuing a previous series. Then follows a "Calendar of Shelburne Correspondence relating to Canada", without indication whether from originals in the possession of Lord Lansdowne or in Michigan; a calendar of vols. 1–23 of series C. O. 42 in the London Public Record Office, the volumes in that series which precede the point where the Canadian transcripts called at Ottawa Series "Q" begin; some fifteen letters of Governor Parr of Nova Scotia to Shelburne, 1783–1789, relating to immigration of Loyalists into the Maritime Provinces; and the text of the statutes of Upper Canada, 1792–1793, reprinted from the unique copy in the Sulpician Library at Montreal.

The Canadian Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, by Dr. Charles C. Tansill, appears as series XL., no. 2, of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.*

The annual meeting of the Ontario Historical Society was held at Simcoe July 5 to 7, concurrently with the dedication of the memorial at Port Dover to Dollier de Casson and Galinée. The principal address of the dedication exercises was by Dr. James H. Coyne, on the Dollier-Galinée Expedition, 1669–1670. Among the papers read during the meeting were: the County of Norfolk in the War of 1812, and Alexander McKee, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, both by Brig.-Gen. E. A. Cruikshank; Thomas Scott, the Second Attorney General of Upper Canada, and the Ancaster Bloody. Assize of 1814, both by Hon. W. R. Riddell.

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AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The November number of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* is one of extraordinary interest and merit. There is a thoughtful and useful paper by Professor W. W. Pierson, jr., entitled Some Reflections on the Cabildo as an Institution; Mr. Gilberto Freyre presents one of most unusual interest on Social Life in Brazil in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century; Paul S. Taylor, one on Spanish Seamen of the New World during the Colonial Period; and A. C. Wilgus chronicles the relations of Blaine and the Pan-American movement. Miss Irene A. Wright of Seville has an entertaining note on the images of La Señora de la Caridad at Illescas in Castile and at Cobre near Santiago de Cuba.

The manuscript for *The Mexican Nation: a History,* by Associate Professor Herbert I. Priestley, librarian of the Bancroft Library at the University of California, has been accepted for early spring publication by the Macmillan Company.

A careful and sympathetic account of the efforts made in 1920 and 1921 to achieve a union of the five republics of Central America is furnished by V. Sáenz in *Cartas a Morazán* (Comayagua, *El Sol,* 1922, pp. 224).

The Academy of History of Havana, to celebrate the fourth centenary of the removal of that city from the south to the north coast of Cuba and its establishment in its present position, offered a prize for the best documented history of the city in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The prize has been awarded to a History of Havana in the Sixteenth Century by Miss Irene A. Wright of Seville, accompanied by 180 heretofore unpublished documents in the Archives of the Indies and eight unpublished maps of the city's early fortifications. The work will be published in the Academy's *Anales* and in a later edition apart.

No. 56–57 of the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla* contains the final installment of the *Coloquios de la Verdad* of Father Pedro de Quiroga (*circa* A.D. 1563), concerning the hindrances to conversion of Indians in Peru; the whole treatise can now be obtained as a separate volume (pp. 129), edited by Fray Julián Zarco Cuevas.

V. Maurtua, a Peruvian delegate to the Assembly of the League of Nations, gives an account of the Tacna-Arica dispute in *Sur le Pacifique du Sud: le Procès du Pérou et de la Bolivie contre le Chili* (Dijon, Darantière, 1922, pp. 286).

An account of German activity in one of the countries of South America is *Das Deutschtum in Uruguay* (Stuttgart, Ausland und Heimat Verlags-Aktiengesellschaft, 1921, pp. x, 382), by W. Nelke.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. J. Turner, *Sections and Nation* (Yale Review, October); L. M. Larson, *Did John Scolvus Visit Labrador and Newfoundland in or about 1476?* (Scandinavian Studies,

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VII. 3); C. T. Libby, *Who Planted New Hampshire?* (Granite Monthly, October); Charles Moore, *George Washington's Boyhood* (Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, November); R. V. Harlow, *A Psychological Study of Samuel Adams* (Psychoanalytic Review, October); J. C. Fitzpatrick, *Bread and the Superintendent of Bakers of the Continental Army* (Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, September); Col. C. F. Bates, *Alexander Hamilton's Military Plans* (Infantry Journal, October); Maj. E. N. McClellan, U. S. M. C., *From 1783 to 1798* (Marine Corps Gazette, September); Isabel L. Smith, *Seals of the Executive Departments* (Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, November); Gamaliel Bradford, *Damaged Souls,* I. *Aaron Burr* (Harper's Magazine, December); *id., John Brown* (Atlantic Monthly, November); F. B. Simpkins, *The Election of 1876 in South Carolina,* II. (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); Firmin Roz, *La Crise de la Paix aux États-Unis* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 15); T. Chapais, *Lord Durham et son Rapport,* I., II. (Canada Français, September, October); F. Landon, *Canadian Opinion of Abraham Lincoln* (Dalhousie Review, October); H. Bedford-Jones, *Canada's First Historian* [Major de Bacqueville de la Potherie] (Canadian Magazine, September); J. P. Edwards, *The Vicissitudes of a Loyalist City* [Shelburne] (Dalhousie Review, October); J. F. Rippy, *Pan-Hispanic Propaganda in Hispanic America* (Political Science Quarterly, September); N. Politis, *Une Expérience de Tribunal International Permanent en Amérique Centrale* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXVI. 2); C. E. Chapman, *An American Experiment in Nicaragua* (Review of Reviews, October); Manuel Sanguily, *Sobre la Génesis de la Enmienda Platt* (Cuba Contemporánea, October); E. Roig de Leuchsenring, *La Ingerencia Norteamericana en los Asuntos Interiores de Cuba, 1913–1921* (*ibid.,* September).

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